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SAMUEL FINLEY BREESE MORSE AND THE ANTI-CATHOLIC POLITICAL MOVE- MENTS IN THE UNITED STATES (1791-1872)

INTRODUCTION

The subject of this essay is the part played by the well-known inventor of the telegraph, Samuel F. B. Morse, in the rise and development of the anti-Catholic political movements in the United States. Morse's life spanned almost a century. He was born in 1791 and died in 1872. Those years, particularly to the outbreak of the Civil War, witnessed a large output of anti-Catholic literature in the United States. Chief among the books published from 1791 to 1860 must be placed Morse's violent attack upon the Catholic Church, which he published in 1835 under the title: *Imminent Dangers to the Free Institutions of the United States through Foreign Immigration and the Present State of Naturalization Laws*. This little volume has become very scarce with the passing of the years, and we have been fortunate in having a photostatic copy from the transcripts in Dr. Guilday's collection for our use. An analysis of the volume is given in this essay.

To bring out in relief the contrast of Morse's exceptional education and culture, his inventive genius, and his high literary taste with his rabid and violent intolerance towards the Catholic Church, it has been thought necessary to sketch Morse's life, his education, and his singular opportunities of learning the truth about Catholicism. The subject of religious intolerance is not a pleasant one; nor can it be approached without the fear that one's readers may suspect an ulterior motive in the treatment of its various phases. Moreover, religious intolerance in the history of the United States has centered around one Church, namely, the Catholic Church. It has

been against Catholics that the periodic outbursts of religious bigotry have been directed; and for that very reason, one will search in vain the historical literature of our country for a complete and adequate description of these anti-Catholic movements. The same is true to a large extent in the historical works of Catholics. The tendency is rather to forget these unpleasant episodes in our national history, on the score that such intolerance never represents the real heart of the American people, and that to revive these forgotten memories of vicious and unwarranted attacks upon the Church smacks somewhat of a lessened patriotic outlook on our national past. Charity, would, indeed, suggest that these events be forgotten; but the truth is that even with the passing of the years which have brought a closer unity among the American people, the anti-Catholicism of the past is not a dead issue in our social and political development. Consequently, to meet the issues which arise at any moment, a thorough study should be made of all the causes underlying this apparently ineradicable attitude on the part of so many outside the Catholic Church.

Each decade of the nineteenth century has its own peculiar method of giving life and support to anti-Catholicism in the United States. Each section of the country viewed the growing strength of the Catholic Church from its own local standpoint. Each movement, whether of the Native Americans, the Know-Nothings, the American Protective Association, or the Ku Klux Klan, should have its own historian. To approach so large a problem in a general way is a very difficult proceeding, owing to the varied factors in each phase of the anti-Catholic movements of the past. Hence arises the necessity of a monographic treatment of the question. It will only be after each of these phases and factors and sectional viewpoints has been studied separately that the Church historian may proceed to a generalization of the facts contained in such monographs.

The present essay centers its study about one man, and that man an outstanding figure in American life, Samuel F. B. Morse, who won undying celebrity to himself by the invention of the telegraph in 1844. The closer one approaches the casual elements of the various anti-Catholic movements, the clearer it becomes that in each of them one man is principally responsible for its rise and growth. This is especially true of Morse and the Native American Movement of the '40s. The exceptional part of Morse's place in the movement was that he had a much better education and a much wider culture than most Americans of his day. This essay endeavors to explain his part in the unsavory story of Native-Americanism.

The method we have followed in treating the subject divides it naturally into two parts, the religious and the educational influences in Morse's life up to 1844, and the place he occupied after that historic year in the Native-American and Know-Nothing political camps until his death in 1872.

The history of religious intolerance in the United States has never been fully treated. Such volumes, as Sanford Cobb's *Rise of Religious Liberty in America*, contain much that is pertinent to the subject; but for the history of the opposition to Catholicism, only scattered references can be found in Shea's *History of the Church in the United States*, and in similar works. The opposition of Protestants toward the Catholic Church in the United States from the landing at Jamestown in 1607 to the present has not been caused solely by religious intolerance. There is another powerful factor which explains much of the bigotry—the political factor. When Columbus landed here in 1492, the settlements made by the Irish and the Norsemen in Greenland and Labrador had disappeared. During the period of colonization, from 1492 to 1690, three European countries sent discoverers and colonizers to our shores. Spain colonized the West Indies, Florida, New Mexico and the Pacific Coast. England colonized the Atlantic seaboard or what are now the States along the Atlantic ocean. France colonized Canada, the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys and parts of Maine. With every Spanish vessel came missionaries. Churches and schools were begun. The Indians were converted, and in every phase of their activity the Spaniards showed a benign interest for the red men. France had at the head of her colonizing activity the great figure of Cardinal Richelieu, who was one of the most broad minded Frenchmen of his time. The English colonies were peopled by settlers from England, Ireland and Scotland. The religious situation in the British Isles in the year 1607, the date of the first English settlement in America, gives rise to the question: did these early English settlers and those who followed them down to the American Revolution come to our shores imbued with the idea of religious liberty, or with the realization of the necessity of a separation between Church and State?

Colonial legislation in the English settlements from Maine to Georgia, from the year 1607 to the outbreak of the Revolution in 1775, points to the fact that, as far as religion was concerned, one fear predominated:—the presence of Catholics. Scarcely a single decade in that stretch of one hundred and sixty-seven years passed without a law in one or other of the colonies against the presence of the Church of Rome; and so imbedded were these anti-Catholic

clauses in the Constitutions of the colonies, that when the Revolution was over and the treaty of Paris signed in 1783, the Fathers of the American Constitution, under which we now live, realized that they had to deal with a strong opposition in the country against granting full religious liberty of conscience to all the citizens of the New Republic. American history has one great dividing line—the Declaration of Independence on July 4th, 1776. In the period preceding that tremendous day, there was not a single one of the thirteen colonies, which had not at some time or other proscribed those who professed faith in the Catholic Church. In some of the colonies there were penal laws, copied from those of England, forbidding and punishing the practice of the Catholic religion, while in others, Catholics, though tolerated, were nevertheless taxed for the support of the Protestant Church, which they could not recognize and which taught that their religion was both superstitious and idolatrous and a menace to the safety of the State. Although subject to all the duties and burdens of citizenship, they were denied its privileges. They were practically disfranchised. Socially, they were ostracized.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, there were about 25,000 Catholics in the United States. From the close of the war down to 1814, the Federalist party strove to preserve the political ascendancy of Protestantism in the United States. They had not then accepted the principle of religious liberty as expressed in the American Constitution, and for this as well as for other reasons the Irish and other Catholic immigrants coming into the country joined what was then the anti-Federalist or Democratic party. That is the reason why even as late as twenty-five years ago, it was a surprise to find an Irish Catholic a member of the Republican party. The Irish settled mostly in the New England States, New York State and the Middle Western States. The South owing to slavery was a very unfavorable place to the Irish immigrant.

In 1797 a bill was presented to Congress by Mr. Brooks placing a twenty dollar tax on all certificates of naturalization. A new law of June 18, 1798, provided that fourteen years of residence, and a declaration of intention five years prior to application, was necessary to naturalization. In 1802 the naturalization period was again placed at five years. The Native-Americans, with the object of placing difficulties in the way of immigration, wished to prevent naturalization until after a residence of twenty-five years; on the plea that no immigrant could acquire the necessary knowledge in a shorter time and that a too early qualification of foreigners abridged and undermined the rights of native citizens. In 1842 a bill was

presented to Congress by Mr. Walker of Mississippi to reduce the term of residence required by law for naturalization from five to two years. Federal law today prescribes a residence of five years as the prerequisite for naturalization, but the term which enables a vote to be acquired is often shorter under State laws. The United States requires that all aliens admitted to citizenship shall conform to the country's distinctive conditions and accept its ideals; that all imported traits shall be pooled in the common stock of the one composite people.

The hatred for the Irish Catholic immigrant is clearly set forth in *Imminent Dangers to the Free Institutions of the United States through Foreign Immigration and the Present State of Naturalization Laws* by Morse when he says:

The notorious ignorance in which the great mass of these immigrants have been all their lives sunk, until their minds are dead, makes them but senseless machines; they obey orders mechanically, for it is the habit of their education, in the despotic countries of their birth. And can it be for a moment supposed by any one that by the act of coming to this country, and being naturalized, their darkened intellects can suddenly be illuminated to discern the nice boundary where their ecclesiastical obedience to their priests ends, and their civil independence of them begins? They obey their priests as demigods, from the habit of their whole lives; they have been taught from infancy that their priests are infallible in the greatest matters, and can they, by mere importation to this country, be suddenly imbued with the knowledge that in civil matters their priests may err, and that they are not in these also their infallible guides? Who will teach them this? Will their priests? Let common sense answer this question. Must not the priests, as a matter of almost certainty, control the opinion of their ignorant flock in civil as well as religious matters? and do they not do it?

In spite of all that has been said and written, the Irish immigrant played a very important role, not only industrially but also politically in the nation's growth. The Irish were a potent factor in federal politics and still more so in municipal affairs. The full history of religious intolerance towards Catholicism cannot be told unless we take into consideration certain factors within the Church itself which occasioned to some extent the opposition. Chief among these factors was the problem of adjusting Catholic life to American ways. In adjusting Catholic life and action to the ideals of the new Republic during the first three decades of its organized government (1789-1820), several racial and administrative entities must be considered. The organization of the Church in the United States can be said to have begun with the consecration of Bishop John Carroll on August

15,1790. Shortly after this, two remarkable projects were organized to encroach upon his authority and jurisdiction. The first was when Propaganda yielded to the wishes of the Scioto Company and on April 26, 1790, appointed Don Didier, a monk of St. Maur, vicar-general in *spiritualibus* for the space of seven years, on condition that such jurisdiction should not conflict with that of Dr. Carroll.

Simultaneously with the Gallipolis bishopric occurred another of somewhat more ambitious design, namely, the creation of a separate bishopric for the Indians of New York State. "The consecration and installation of Bishop Carroll," writes Shea, "were coeval with a strange project to erect an episcopal See in the State of New York. While the Church was slowly gaining a permanent footing in the cities of that State, there was an attempt to establish a French mission, and strangest of all, a Bishop among the Oneida Indians, which forms one of the curious episodes in our history."¹ The object of those who managed the scheme was no less than the foundation of an Indian Primacy over the Six Nations of New York State. The Oneida tribe constituted itself the spokesman for the rest of the Nations, and the plan was fully developed before the appeal was made to Rome. Appeal was made direct to the Papal Nuncio without Bishop Carroll's knowledge or authority. On September 11, 1790, Cardinal Antonelli answered to the effect that the project had his sympathy, but that the main question at issue was whether these Indians were within the Diocese of Baltimore or that of Quebec. After careful investigation, Propaganda informed the Indian agent that all application for spiritual direction of the Six Nations should be made directly to Bishop John Carroll of Baltimore. Internal troubles hindered for a time the complete administration of the American Church. Early in Carroll's episcopate, trusteeism made its appearance. The evils brought in in its train cannot be separated from the anti-Catholic movements, since once the quarrel became public, the enemies of the Church made use of these divisions as an argument for their main politico-religious thesis: that the Catholic Faith was incompatible with the republican liberties of the country.

In Philadelphia, on March 22, 1789, Father John Heilbron was elected to the pastorate of Holy Trinity Church by the trustees "acting on their self assumed right." In Boston a schism broke out, which caused Dr. Carroll much anxiety during his absence (1790) from the United States. The presence of Father John Thayer, the

¹ John G. Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, Vol. II, p. 58. New York, 1888.

first convert from the American Protestant ministry to the Catholic Faith, and of Father Rousselet caused much trouble between the French and Irish Catholics in Boston. In 1791, Bishop Carroll went to Boston, where he succeeded in making peace between the French and Irish Catholics, when they accepted Father Thayer as their pastor. Father Rousselet was suspended in 1791. Boston was at that time, of all the cities in America, the most openly hostile to the Catholic Church, but Bishop Carroll's visit was the beginning of a better feeling. In one of his letters, June 11, 1791, written before leaving Boston, Bishop Carroll says: "It is wonderful what great civilities have been done to me in this town, where a few years ago, a 'popish' priest was thought to be the greatest monster in creation. Many here, even of their principal people, have acknowledged to me that they would have crossed the opposite side of the street, rather than meet a Roman Catholic some time ago."² It is difficult to analyze the anti-Catholic movements in the United States because they have been complex movements, the product of many and varied factors. Yet these movements are not without a moral and for the Catholic body of the United States, yesterday, today and perhaps tomorrow, they carry a special lesson. These spasmodic outbursts of anti-Catholicism teach the corporate Catholic body the lesson of the necessity of unity within its own ranks. The safest foundation for such unity is the knowledge of how the Protestants of these United States have, from the beginning, treated the Catholic Church in this country. The sordid pages of Protestant bigotry should be told often, not with bitterness, not with hatred, not for vengeance, but to venerate the bravery, loyalty and perseverance of the Catholics of the past who upheld that fundamental principle of the American Constitution: the guarantee of freedom of worship. With a knowledge of these movements in the past, we are better prepared today for the tactics of bigots and religious antagonists alike. Moreover, the better these anti-Catholic movements are known by our non-Catholic fellow-citizens, the surer we are that our rights as American citizens will receive sympathetic consideration from that better informed and unbiased portion of the nation who has always sought the truth in history and has ever recognized Catholic devotedness and loyalty to this great country.

With this general survey as a background, the purpose of this essay will be evident to the reader, namely, to describe the place Samuel F. B. Morse had in these political movements, between 1829

² Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll*, New York, 1922.

and 1844, the purpose of which was the exclusion of Catholics in the political life of the nation.

I

EARLY YEARS
(1791-1806)

Samuel Finley Breese Morse, American artist, poet and inventor, was born at the foot of Breed's Hill, in Charlestown, Massachusetts, April 27, 1791.

Dr. Belknap, of Boston, writing to Postmaster-General Hazard in New York, says: "Congratulate the Monmouth Judge" (Mr. Breese, the grandfather) "on the birth of a grandson. Next Sunday he is to be loaded with names, not quite as many as the Spanish ambassador who signed the treaty of peace of 1783, but only four. As to the child, I saw him asleep, so can say nothing of his eye, or his genius peeping through it. He may have the sagacity of a Jewish rabbi, or the profundity of a Calvin, or the sublimity of a Homer, for aught I know. But time will bring forth all things."³ This was a very curious prognostication on the birth of a child who became as widely known to the world as Calvin or Homer.

Morse's father was the minister at the Congregational Church in Charlestown, whilst his grandfather, Samuel Finley, was President of the College of New Jersey. His mother was Elizabeth Ann Breese, the daughter of Samuel Breese and Rebecca Finley, whose father was the President of Princeton College. Hence the name Samuel Finley Breese Morse.

The boy was trained by a father who was in advance of the age in which he lived. Parental discipline was not severe, but religious principles were inculcated as the source of highest enjoyment, as well as the basis of right action. When he was four years of age he was sent to a private school within a few hundred yards of the parsonage. At the age of seven, he was sent to the preparatory school of Mr. Foster, at Andover, where he was fitted for entering Phillips Academy. It was about this time that Boston Catholics received as their permanent pastor, Father John Cheverus, who arrived in the little city on October 3, 1796. The spirit of the times can best be seen in an incident which occurred four years later. While in Maine, in January, 1800, in the performance of his duty, Father Cheverus married two Catholics. The law of Massachusetts (of which the dis-

³ Samuel I. Prime, *Life of Samuel F. B. Morse*. New York, 1875.

trict of Maine was then a part) prohibited all marriages except before a justice of the peace. Father Cheverus advised the couple to have the civil ceremony performed the following day. The Attorney-General of the State, James Sullivan, was the son of Catholic parents, but had fallen away from the Church. He seemed moved to hostility against the religion of his parents, and instituted of his own accord legal proceedings against Father Cheverus, who was arrested in October, 1800, and brought to trial at Wicasset. Two of the judges, Bradbury and Strong, were rather vehement in their denunciation of the gentle priest, the former threatening him with the pillory. Cheverus was quite undismayed in the presence of this brutality; he had seen specimens of it in Paris in the days of the Jacobins, and he fought the cause to the end. The civil action was finally allowed to go by default. The Constitution of Massachusetts did not at that time contain a clause granting tolerance in religious affairs. The judges of the Supreme Court unanimously declared at Boston (March 5, 1801): "The Constitution obliges everyone to contribute to the support of Protestant ministers, and them alone. Papists are only tolerated, and as long as their ministers behave well, we shall not disturb them; but let them expect no more than that."⁴

In spite of the many obstacles, Catholicism spread in Boston and in 1803 the first Catholic Church in Massachusetts, the Church of the Holy Cross, was completed and, on September 29th of that year, Bishop Carroll, who had journeyed to Boston for the occasion, dedicated the new house of worship. In 1808, John Cheverus was consecrated as the first bishop of Boston. After his consecration at Baltimore, Dr. Cheverus returned to his episcopal city and took up the old routine of duty without changing in the slightest his simple mode of life. Before Carroll's death, there were congregations at Boston, Salem and Newburyport, in Massachusetts; Damariscotta, Portland, New Castle and Point Pleasant, in Maine; at Portsmouth in New Hampshire; at Providence and Bristol in Rhode Island and at New Haven, Hartford and New London in Connecticut. The non-Catholics at Boston considered Bishop Cheverus as "a blessing and a treasure" to their social community.

The Congregational Church, in which young Morse had been baptized was the earliest religious body in New England. Congregationalism was introduced by the Pilgrims in 1620 and was in reality

⁴ Guilday, *op. cit.*, citing, Cheverus to Carroll, March 10, 1801, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-N3; Matignon to Carroll, Boston, March 16, 1801. *Ibid.*, Case 5-G4.

the dominant faith of the people of Massachusetts until 1785, when a split occurred and Unitarianism arose. Chief among the leaders of the Congregationalist party was the father of Samuel Morse, the gifted and polemic Jedediah Morse, who was pastor of the Congregational Church in Charlestown from 1789 to 1820. Under his guidance the spirit of true Congregationalism in New England was rekindled. In Essex County, for instance, during the decade of 1791 to 1801, the churches were aroused to scrutinize more carefully the doctrinal views of their pastors; vacated pulpits were sure to be filled with men of the orthodox stamp.

In 1803, the foundations of a new state ministerial gathering were laid, the Massachusetts General Association. The new organization met with much difficulty. Two parties were formed, the Liberals and the Orthodox. The first real test of strength between the two parties took place over the choice of a successor to a decidedly old Calvinist, the Rev. Dr. Davis Tappan, whose death, in August, 1803, left vacant the Hollis Professorship of Divinity in Harvard College. A long and bitter struggle ensued and in 1805, a literary warfare opened. The Rev. Jedidiah Morse attacked the whole transaction in his *True Reasons on which the Election of the Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College Was Opposed*. In June, 1805, largely through the influence of Morse, the *Panoplist* was founded, as an active defender of the older faith. However, Henry Ware, an avowed and representative Unitarian, was finally elected in 1805 to the chair.

In May, 1808, Jedidiah Morse, then the recognized champion of Congregationalism, procured the appointment of Rev. Joshua Huntington, a Yale graduate, as colleague pastor of the Old South Church, the most conservative of all Boston churches. The same year the doors of Andover Seminary were opened to students and in 1810 the Dutch Seminary was begun at New Brunswick. Such a religious influence on the character of young Morse had much to do, no doubt, with his religious prejudice in later life against any sect opposed to Congregationalism.

II

STUDENT DAYS (1806-1818)

At the age of fourteen (1805) Morse entered Yale and was graduated in 1810 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Timothy Dwight was a warm personal friend, correspondent and counselor of Dr. Morse, Samuel's father, and at his expressed desire as well as from

the promptings of his own feelings of friendship, Dr. Dwight took the deepest personal interest in the young student confided to his care. The President was a man of vast and varied learning, and of strong original powers of mind. He was a master of inductive philosophy. Few men in America at that time possessed such knowledge. It was President Dwight who prepared for publication the most atrocious of all anti-Catholic publications, *The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk*. Whether or not Morse imbibed any of his anti-Catholic tendencies while at Yale is hard to say.

Yale was at this time governed by very stringent religious rules and anyone convicted of spreading heresy or schism was immediately expelled. There were compulsory morning and evening prayers, and anyone absenting himself without permission was fined. On Saturday night and Sunday the "Blue Laws" were strictly enforced. However, there was no Prohibition in those days, even in college, as can be inferred from a letter written by Morse to his father asking for money to buy brandy, wine and cigars for his room. On the fourth of July, a barrel of wine was placed on a table in the refectory and no one could leave until it was empty.

While studying electricity at Yale under the instruction of Jeremiah Day, Professor of Natural Philosophy, Morse received those impressions which were destined to produce so great an influence upon him personally and upon his later researches. However, he chose art as his profession and in 1811 became the pupil of Washington Allston, American historical painter and poet, and accompanied him to England where he remained four years (1811-1815).

Washington Allston was born November, 1779, at Waccamar, South Carolina, where his father was a painter. He early displayed a taste for the art to which he was afterwards to devote himself. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1800, and for a short time pursued his artistic studies at Charleston with Malbone and Charles Fraser. Shortly afterwards he removed to London and entered the Royal Academy as a student of Benjamin West, with whom he formed a lifelong friendship. After spending some time in London and Paris, Allston then went to Rome where he spent nearly four years studying Italian art and scenery. In color and management of light and shade he closely imitated the Venetian school, and hence has been styled, "The American Titian." He returned to America in 1809 and remained here till 1811. He then sailed for England, accompanied by Morse. Morse became the pupil of Benjamin West in England. The fame of this master was as wide as the world of art. Morse's success at this period was considerable, as is shown by

the gold medal he won in London for his painting, the "Dying Hercules." This medal was offered by the Society of Arts in London.

The progress of painting in America up to this time was quite meager. The earliest painter of American birth of whom we have record is Robert Feke, who painted portraits at Philadelphia about the middle of the eighteenth century. Specimens of his work are in possession of Bowdoin College, the Redwood Athenaeum, Newport, R. I., and the Rhode Island Historical Society. Next in point of time was Matthew Pratt (1734-1805). The portrait of Cadwallader Colden, which he painted for the New York Chamber of Commerce in 1772 attests his undoubted talent. The most noted painters of the last half of the eighteenth century were John Singleton, Copley and Benjamin West. Copley's "Death of the Earl of Chatham" has become famous. West produced a large number of historical and scriptural paintings of high order, his best being, "Christ Healing the Sick."

The next period, that of the Revolution, produced two painters whose names stand high in the list of American artists, Gilbert Stuart and John Trumbull. Stuart studied for several years under Benjamin West in London. When he returned to America in 1793 he painted a large number of national portraits, the most important of which is that of Washington, known as the "Athenaeum Head." Trumbull also studied under West, but his talents were most conspicuous in historical composition. Some of the best specimens of his skill, such as "The Siege of Gibraltar" and "The Declaration of Independence," may be seen at Yale College. Among the less renowned American painters who flourished from 1780 to 1820, we might mention Charles W. Peale, who painted several portraits of Washington, and Joseph Wright. Of the many landscape painters of this period, Albert Burstadt's painting, the "Rocky Mountain Scenery" is probably the best, although mention must be made of Thomas Hill and Thomas Moran. James Hamilton, a native of Ireland, was no doubt the best marine painter of his day. William Bradford and Edward Moran also having produced effective maritime pictures. Apart from these few painters, art was neglected in this country.

In the year 1815 Morse returned to the United States and opened a studio in Boston. The fame of the young artist preceded him, and hundreds of people went to see a picture by the favorite pupil of Allston and West. He set up his easel with the confident expectation that his fame and his work would bring him orders and money. An entire year (1816) dragged itself along without an offer for his pic-

tures or even an order for a painting. Disappointed in his expectations of encouragement in his historical painting, Morse resolved to go into the country and earn money by painting the portraits of the people. During the autumn of 1816 and the following winter, he visited several towns in New Hampshire and Vermont, where he painted portraits with moderate success.

III

MORSE, THE ARTIST, POET, LITTERATEUR AND INVENTOR

Samuel Morse was twenty-seven years old when, at a party given by Mr. Sparhawk in Concord, New Hampshire, in 1818, he was introduced to Miss Lucretia Walker, daughter of Charles Walker. She was accounted the most beautiful and accomplished lady of the town. Dr. Bouton in his *History of Concord*, says: "She was a young lady of great personal loveliness and rare good sense. The eye of the artist was attracted by her beauty, her sweetness of temper and her high intellectual culture, which fitted her to be his companion. Her sound judgment and prudence made her a counsellor and friend." After a short courtship, they were married on October 1, 1818, at Concord, New Hampshire, and their wedded life was blessed with two children.

At this time, there broke out at Dartmouth College a bitter religious controversy. The founder of the College, Dr. Eleazer Wheelock, was a Congregationalist minister in Lebanon, Connecticut, but when he came to Hanover, New Hampshire, he adopted the Presbyterian religion. Hence the question came up as to what should be the official faith at Dartmouth.

Slight differences of opinion between the second president and his colleagues sprang up from the very beginning of his administration. The matters in dispute were at first only local and ecclesiastical; then literary and financial, and finally they became personal and official. They agitated first the Church, then the village and faculty. They passed to the legislature and the State Court, and finally by an appeal, the controversy was decided by the Supreme Court of the United States.

There was to be but one Church, Presbyterian, in connection with Dartmouth College, consisting of two branches, Congregational on the west side, and Presbyterian on the east side of the Connecticut River; each branch had an independent and exclusive right of admitting and disciplining its own members; each the privilege of employing a minister of its own choice.

About the same time the conversion of the Barber family and the subsequent devotion of all its members to the service of God, attracted great attention. Rev. Daniel Barber, a native of Sinsbury, Connecticut, served as a soldier in the State Line during the Revolution, but when peace came he revolted, as his father had done before him, against the tyranny of the Congregational Church. In his *History of My Own Times* he states that his "father and mother were Congregational dissenters of strict Puritanic rule." Seeing one of his denomination utterly discomfited in an argument with an Episcopalian, he sought refuge in the Church of the victorious disputant. There he resolved to devote himself to the ministry, and after a course of study entered upon his duties. In time a Catholic book fell into his hands and awakened some doubts in his mind as to the soundness of his own position. He called on Bishop Cheverus, about 1812, to whom he made known some of his doubts. Books lent by Dr. Cheverus were read by him and his family, and by some of his flock. Towards the close of 1818, he was in a most undecided position, when his son, Virgil Horace Barber, who had also become an Episcopal minister, called on him accompanied by Rev. Charles P. French, O. P. To his surprise, he found that his son, harassed by doubts like himself, had sought the Rev. Benedict J. Fenwick, S. J., at New York in 1816, and renouncing all worldly prospects had been received by him into the Catholic Church. Virgil's wife, Jerusha, and five children followed his example. Three years later husband and wife met in the chapel of Georgetown convent to make their vows in religion. Jerusha first went through the formula of the profession of a Visitation Nun, and Virgil the vows of a member of the Society of Jesus. Before they died, they had the happiness to see all their children embrace the religious life. Mrs. Daniel Barber and her daughter, Mrs. Tyler, and her eldest daughter, Rosetta, openly professed the Catholic faith and were received into the Church. These two revolts from Congregationalism, especially the last, left a lasting impression upon Morse's mind since he knew the Barbers personally.

In November, 1818, a month after his marriage to Lucretia Walker, Morse and his wife sailed from New York to South Carolina. Here he continued his portrait painting, meeting with fairly good success. This kind of work kept him busy until 1823 when he invented a machine for cutting marble. The death of his wife on February 8, 1825, was a sorrow he never fully recovered from. On November 8, 1825, a meeting of artists, probably the first ever held in the city of New York, took place in the rooms of the Historical

Society for the purpose of taking into consideration, "the formation of a Society for Improvement in Drawing." This society was afterwards known as the "New York Drawing Association." Morse was president of this society from 1826 to 1845. During the year 1826 the name of the society was again changed to the "National Academy of the Arts of Design," and as such it has since remained.

In the year 1827, Morse renewed his study of electricity, and particularly of electro-magnetism. At that time he was intimately associated with James F. Dana of Columbia College, who delivered a course of lectures on the subject, before the New York Athenaeum. Unfortunately, Professor Dana died on the 15th day of April, 1827, and Morse once more turned to the painting of portraits. During the years from 1827 to 1829, Morse resided in the city of New York pursuing with great industry his profession as a painter; but oftentimes discouraged to the very last degree by a want of success commensurate with his ambition. Poverty, so often the lot of men of genius and of the highest capacity, pressed him continually.

The first volume that appeared over his name was a memoir on the *Remains of Lucretia Maria Davidson*, New York, 1827. Morse was not only a portrait painter but also a poet. He is the author of *The Serenade*, published in the *Talisman* for 1828.

IV.

MORSE AND ANTI-CATHOLIC POLITICS (1829-1844)

An important event occurred in 1829 which was to have a tremendous effect in the United States. During the previous year, 1828, Daniel O'Connell was elected to Parliament, as the recognized leader of six million people. O'Connell presented himself in Parliament but refused to take the customary oath which was offered to him. This refusal forced a crisis. Millions of Irish Catholic were organized and defiant, and encouraged by moral and financial backing from American sympathizers, they seemed on the brink of civil war. To avoid the calamity the English Parliament passed the Act of Emancipation the following year, 1829.

Catholics in Great Britain and Ireland were at last free men. After centuries of dishonor for adhering to a proscribed religion they were now liberated from bondage. The proscription maintained against them by Act of Parliament was aggravated by the illegal persecution carried on by the "Orange Lodges" whose undisguised purpose was the extermination of "Popery." In Ireland the cruel

servitude in which the great body of Catholic peasantry was compelled to live, the almost inhuman conditions under which they had to slave to earn a living and maintain existence, their religion proscribed, their race hated, they themselves regarded as a stratum slightly above barbarians by the handful of English and Scotch Protestants who legislated for them, all these had concurred to drive them from their hearths and homes and country, and they sought America as a refuge and a haven where they might enjoy both religious and political liberty. The event of Emancipation, then, was celebrated as well in America as in Ireland. In America public Masses of Thanksgiving were sung, and the Church belfries and municipal towers bells were tolled and rung.

An Englishman, James Stuart, was visiting in America at this time. On his return to England he published a book, *Three Years in North America*, which appeared in 1833 and had two editions its first year. Stuart is the only foreign traveller, of whom we can find record, who mentioned the demonstrations with which the people of the United States greeted the news of the Catholic Emancipation Bill. Stuart writes:

While I was at Philadelphia, the news arrived there of the Royal assent being given to the Catholic Emancipation Bill. Great rejoicings took place. The mayor ordered the bells, especially the great old bell which first proclaimed the independence of the United States, in 1776, to be tolled and to ring during the whole day. Public rejoicings on this occasion took place in all the towns of the United States, especially at New York and Baltimore. Contributions had been sent to the subscriptions in Ireland for the forwarding of the Catholic Emancipation from the United States, especially from Maryland, a considerable part of the population of which consists of Roman Catholics.

And he writes later:

I was at Philadelphia when the news of the emancipation of the Roman Catholics in Ireland arrived and I do not believe that greater public joy was shown in London on account of that long delayed triumph of justice and liberality, than in Philadelphia.

The Irish then came here as to a land where they would be free to practice the faith for which their forefathers had suffered so much from the persecuting English, where they could work and thus give themselves and family a comfortable home. Their brothers in the Continental army and navy had done valiant service in the cause of liberty. But alas, religious prejudice in America during this period was very strong. Every anti-Catholic manifesto issued was framed

to work upon the ignorance and prejudice of the masses by advocating, first, the duty of all good Americans to preserve their country, its government and liberties against all enemies; and second, by compiling with this the calumnious statements that American independence was in imminent danger of being annihilated by the machinations of the Pope, the Jesuits, the "Romish" priesthood and the advent of foreigners who yielded blind obedience to the Pope, and that all Catholics were in a conspiracy to subvert the government. Hence it was thought to be the right and duty of American citizens to exclude all foreigners and particularly Irish Catholics from public office, to deny them practically all the rights of citizenship, and to ostracize them socially and politically so that, while they would not be prevented from coming here or remaining in the country, yet their "influence for harm" would be reduced to the lowest degree possible.

In this very year of Catholic Emancipation, 1829, Morse sailed from New York with his mind saturated with this background of popular prejudice. Morse was an American of the day, and, like his Protestant brethren, he thought the Irish Catholics in America should be kept in bondage, at least in political and social bondage. On December 4, he landed in Liverpool where there prevailed a popular sentiment the reverse of which he had left on the other side of the Atlantic in America. The Catholics in England were that year liberated from the political and religious bondage of three centuries. It does not appear that Morse caught the new spirit in England; perhaps, on the other hand, contact with the spirit of liberality aggravated the prejudice of his own heart.

Morse had left his children with relations in New York so he was free to roam Europe at will. After spending some time in England, he toured France, visiting Paris, and from there he set out for Italy. On February 20, 1830, he arrived in Rome where he spent a year and a half, until the autumn of 1831. During his stay in the Eternal City, Morse attended many solemn functions at St. Peter's and other Catholic basilicas. Very often on returning to his lodgings from these celebrations, he penned notes and impressions in his personal diary. Morse was ignorant of the significance, symbolism and purpose of Catholic ceremonies and these diary notes heap ridicule on the sacred functions of the Catholic Church. It is to be remembered, however, that Morse received the social inheritance of Puritan stock and what they hated in religious worship was the appearance of formalism and the emotional. Added to this Morse was introduced to the beautiful Roman Catholic ritual in a foreign land, among a people, the Italians, whose racial trait is to display, and not re-

strain, the emotions and workings of the heart. Considering, then, his temperament, his bias and the environment in which he witnessed the exemplification of the Catholic ceremonial, it is not surprising that, without grace, he did ridicule the holy ceremonies.

During this year and a half in Rome, Morse became acquainted with several ecclesiastics. His diary mentions that on a visit to a cardinal whose name is not given, this Prince of the Church made a vehement attack upon the faith of the young American. Morse writes that the cardinal told him that a young man so cultured and educated, and so influential in America, should be a Catholic; if he were a Catholic he would give the Church of Rome more prestige in America. A correspondence between them ensued and they met frequently thereafter to discuss the matter.

Perhaps the cardinal was imprudent in his attack on Morse's religion. But just what he did say and what was his purpose does not appear for the account is entirely one-sided, written by a prejudiced man, in his diary. Diaries at best are not a sound source for fact, for diaries are often written with preconceived purposes, in the heat of very recent events and under the stress of varied emotions. But there is no denying the effect this cardinal had on Morse. As a result of his conversations and correspondence, Morse believed firmly that there was on foot a political conspiracy of the Pope, masquerading in the cloak of a religious mission, against the Government of the United States; that the Pope was availing himself of every hidden means of getting spies into the controlling forces of the American Government and that the Pope wanted to make a Catholic of Morse himself so as to use his influence as another instrument in attaining that end.

Morse then returned to Paris where he celebrated the Fourth of July, 1832, in the American colony. There was a banquet and much rejoicing for the occasion. Lafayette attended that banquet. Morse and Lafayette were bosom friends with mutual confidences. The scenes and affairs of Rome together with the forced conclusions he drew, plagued the mind of Morse so he laid open his thoughts to the erstwhile young staff officer of the Revolutionary army. Morse later wrote that General Lafayette had concurred fully with him in the idea of the reality of a conspiracy of the Church of Rome to grasp the power from the United States. It is generally understood today that Lafayette was misquoted and there are not a few, from the days of Archbishop Spalding's controversy, who deny flatly that Lafayette ever said anything that would give grounds for the implication made by Morse.

On October 1, 1832, Morse sailed from Havre for New York on the packet-ship *Sully*. One day at dinner, during the early part of the voyage, the general conversation turned upon recent discoveries in electro-magnetism, and the experiments of Ampere with his electro-magnet. A long discussion followed on the importance, and on the commercial and practical value of such scientific studies and researches. Morse, who was more thoughtful than talkative during this discussion, arose and said:

“If the presence of electricity can be made visible in any part of the circuit I see no reason why intelligence may not be transmitted instantaneously by electricity.” He withdrew from the table and went upon deck. After several sleepless nights while his mind was in labor with the subject, he announced his discovery of the telegraph dot and dash system at the breakfast table and explained the process by which he proposed to accomplish it.⁵

The education, culture, artistic sense, practical mind and inventive genius of Morse elevated him head and shoulders over the average American of the early nineteenth century. Morse sensed his own importance. When the *Sully* docked in New York, Morse was landed in the metropolis he had three years before turned his back upon. The man was hardly changed in externals, but his mind harbored one new idea, the telegraph, and his mind had developed and grown on one old idea, papal conspiracy. Most inventors are possessed with their discoveries in novel fields, not so Morse. He never became so absorbed in his inventions as to forget the freedom given Catholics in England and Ireland and the false impressions he received in Rome and Paris regarding the intrigues of the Pope to get control of the American commonweal. This conviction was so strong that he adopted the fad, developed to an intense degree in his absence, of maligning the Catholic Church through the medium of the press. He gave much time in subsequent years to publishing in periodicals, pamphlets and separate volumes, the facts, indeed falsified, and arguments, which in his judgment were fundamental to an understanding of the papal menace.

Morse was not the inceptor of this mass of vilifying journalism; he simply threw his forces into a movement which was initiated in 1830, while he was in Europe. But Morse is the most important of these writers, he towers above his brethren, his faculties sharpened by education were whetted by prejudice, his accusations are the most villainous, his pen the most vehement; and this yellow journalism

⁵ Prime, *op. cit.*

was the more venomous because there was subscribed to it the signature, "Samuel F. B. Morse," whose authority was weighty in the popular mind.

The anti-Catholic writings of this particular period, then, began in 1830, when with a view to extend the anti-Catholic movement throughout the country certain ministers in New York attached to the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed Churches associated themselves in establishing and conducting a newspaper which was called *The Protestant*. It had as its patrons some seventy-two ministers, under the direction of Parson Brownlee, who from their pulpits advertised the paper and promoted its circulation. Its attacks on Roman Catholics were so bitter that *The Jesuit*, the earliest Catholic paper of Boston, described it as "a paper so notoriously infamous as to reflect disgrace upon the very name it has assumed,—a paper from whose profligacy of expression, Satanic baseness, anti-social, anti-christian spirit, the sensible, respectable, and virtuous Protestants of New York and union at large shrink with honest Christian indignation."⁶ The Protestant pulpits were filled with preachers whose sermons waxed eloquent with the bitterest possible attacks on the Church, and especially against the Irish immigrant. Public meetings were held in New York, Philadelphia and Boston where "Popery" was exposed.

In addition to the work Protestant religious newspapers were doing in fomenting anti-Catholic prejudice, the printing press was utilized to turn out a variety of books whose titles, to say nothing of their contents, were such as to attract the attention of unthinking or evil-minded persons to the iniquities which were charged against bishops, clergy and religious women of the Catholic Church. The printing-press has always been one of the deadliest agencies employed in the warfare against the Church, and this is especially true during this period. Among the books published were: *Six Months in a Convent*, by Rebecca Theresa Reid, alias Sister Agnes; *Plea for the West*, by Lyman Beecher; *The Downfall of Babylon*, by Samuel Smith; *Rosamond Culbertson*, by Frances Partridge, a pretended runaway nun; *Louise, a Canadian Nun*; *Open Convents*; *Secrets of Nuneries Disclosed*; *Thrilling Mysteries of a Convent Revealed*; and the most shameless of all impostures, the *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk*. About 1830 appeared *An Exposition of the Principles of the Roman Catholic Religion with remarks on its influence in the United States*.

⁶ Guilday, *Anti-Catholic Movements in the United States*, Private publication, 1916.

The author, who concealed his identity under the signature *Philalethas*, assured his readers that the rapid spread of the Roman Catholic religion was the chief danger which threatened the Republic. As a result of these writings, anti-Catholic mobs were organized all along the Atlantic seaboard. Churches were burned in New York; a seminary in Nyack, New York, was reduced to ashes; Irishmen lost their posts for voting for Jackson; Catholics were compelled to work on Sundays and Holydays so that they could not attend Church or receive the Sacraments; means were also devised to compel the Irish Catholics to attend the Evangelical Church. The noxious bud bloomed forth into its flower in Massachusetts. In 1834 came the burning of the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown, Massachusetts, within sight of Bunker Hill monument, by an anti-Catholic mob, who drove out the nuns and their pupils, with the eventual loss of two lives; and the only prisoner convicted for a share in the outrage was pardoned by the governor. During the night after the burning of the convent a mob of half-grown lads and men paraded the streets of Boston, menaced the Catholic Church on Franklin Street, marched to the convent, burned the fence, tore up the grapery and destroyed the orchard and the garden. That the Catholics, after so much provocation, should remain quiet seemed hardly possible. Indeed, rumors were afloat of vengeance threatened, and an army of Irish laborers from the Worcester, Lowell, and Providence railroads were on the march to Boston to avenge the insult to the Catholic Church. Some actually started, but Bishop Fenwick sent priests in every direction to turn them back, summoned his people to meet him in the Franklin Street Church, told them that an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth formed no part of the religion of Jesus Christ, and bade them raise not a finger in their own defense as there were those around who would see full justice done.⁷

The Philadelphia Native-Americans, who were meeting with grand success in their own city, planned to send a delegation to New York and a public meeting was called to assemble in the City Hall Park there to welcome the visitors and to celebrate the triumph of Native-American principles. Bishop Hughes at once caused a notice to be published warning the Irish to keep away from this meeting, and he called on the Mayor and warned him against the danger of allowing the proposed demonstration to take place.

"Are you afraid," asked the Mayor, "that some of your churches will be burned?"

⁷ Peter Condon in the *Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. IV. New York, 1906.

“No sir,” answered the Bishop, “but I am afraid that some of yours will be burned. We can protect our own. I come to warn you for your own good.”

The Native-Americans took alarm, and posters were issued containing a notification that the meeting to welcome the Philadelphia delegation would not take place. The visitors arrived, but there was no public reception and no demonstration. The Natives kept discreetly quiet and there was no disturbance.⁶

In the South the few cities were no better governed than those of the North, and there was a greater indifference to human sufferings, and to the brutal treatment of prisoners and other defenceless people. Alongside the strength, vigor, and hopefulness of the frontier was the uncouthness, the ignorance, the prejudice, and the latent barbarism of the man who spent his life in conquering nature and the savage.

From 1834 to 1840, no city of the United States was without its Society of Protestants willing to exterminate the Church by force if necessary. In the year 1834, Mr. Morse published a series of papers, which the year following were issued in a volume entitled: *Foreign Conspiracy against the Liberties of the United States revised and corrected, with Notes by the Author*. The papers as they first appeared, were copied widely, and, pervading the whole country, made a deep and permanent impression. The volume passed through numerous editions, and has proved to be one of the most efficient works that has appeared in that prolific discussion.

Probably in no other place is the anti-Catholic feeling more vividly described than in the book written by S. F. B. Morse entitled: *Imminent Dangers to the Free Institutions of the United States through Foreign Immigration and the Present State of Naturalization Laws*, New York, 1835.

In 1835, Morse was appointed Professor of the Literature of the Arts of Design in the New York City University. It was here that he immediately commenced, with very limited means to experiment upon his invention. On September 2, 1837, he exhibited for the first time his instrument to a few friends in New York City. Encouraged by his friends, Morse then petitioned for a patent and for an appropriation of \$30,000 to defray the expenses of setting up telegraph wires between Baltimore and Washington. The committee on commerce to whom the petition was referred after seeing his

⁶ Guilday, *Anti-Catholic Movements*.

instrument in operation, reported favorably but Congress adjourned without making any appropriation.

This very year, 1837, Professor Morse edited and published, with an introduction by himself: *Confessions of a French Catholic Priest*, to which are added, *Warnings to the People of the United States*, by the same author. This volume bore upon the title-page the line, "American liberty can be destroyed only by the popish clergy—Lafayette." The declaration was not placed upon the title-page by the editor but by the author of the book.

The newspapers continued to carry on an anti-Irish campaign for political purposes, the intensity of which we can hardly realize in these days. The religion of Catholics was constantly misrepresented, and her ministers vilified. The poverty of many of the immigrants equalled by their attachment to the faith, was made the subject of ridicule by Protestant religious papers and by many of the secular newspapers, so that religious controversy, or rather the denunciation of the religion of Roman Catholics, became the order of the day. The proposition which was constantly argued in the pulpit as well as in the press, was that Roman Catholics could not consistently with their allegiance to the Pope become or remain loyal citizens of the Republic, and consequently that "foreigners", meaning thereby Roman Catholics, ought not to be entrusted with any office of honor or profit in the State.

In Boston, one Sunday in June 1836, as a company of firemen were returning from a fire, they met a number of Irishmen waiting to form a funeral procession. A fight followed, but was soon quelled, and the engine company went on to its house. Meantime, an alarm of fire was given, and as another company was on its way in search of the supposed fire it came suddenly on the funeral procession, broke through its ranks and threw it into confusion. A rush was made by the Irishmen for a neighboring woodpile, and, thus armed, they fell upon the firemen. Two other companies now arrived, and a general fight ensued. The spectators took sides as natives or Irishmen, and the latter were driven down Broad Street to Purchase. There the mob, which had followed in the rear of the firemen, attacked the houses of the Irish, sacked them, threw the contents into the street and demolished everything. The furniture, beds, bedding, trunks, and the contents of a couple of groceries were strewn about the streets, and several Irishmen who were found hiding in cellars were dragged out and beaten. The air, it was said, was filled with feathers, and some thirty houses were sacked. After three hours of rioting the militia appeared and made some arrests. Beyond the fact that

the men of one party were Irish and those of the other natives, no cause whatever could be found for the riot.⁹ At the next session of Congress the Native American Association at Washington presented a memorial, signed by nearly nine hundred members, praying that the naturalization act be amended. Such was the treatment meted out to the Catholics and especially the Irish Catholics during the period 1830-1840.

On May 16, 1838, Morse again sailed to England for the purpose of obtaining letters-patent for the Electro-Magnetic Telegraph System. He was refused the patent and told that his "invention had been published," and in proof a copy of the *London Mechanics Magazine*, No. 737, for February 10, 1837, was produced, and he was told, "that in consequence of said publication he could not proceed." Morse then went on to Paris and succeeded in obtaining a patent there. He then returned to London and exhibited the telegraph at the home of Lord Lincoln, afterwards the Duke of Newcastle. Morse returned to the United States the following year and from then till 1843 Morse's one ambition was the perfection of his telegraph. His efforts were crowned with success when, in 1843, Congress passed a bill appropriating \$30,000 for a telegraph line between Baltimore and Washington. On the 24th day of May, 1844, Professor Morse was prepared to put to the test the great experiment of which his mind had been laboring for twelve anxious, weary years. He invited his friends to assemble in the chamber of the United States Supreme Court, where he had his instrumentt, from which the wires extended to Baltimore. The calmest person in the company was Professor Morse. Taking his seat by the instrument, he proceeded to manipulate it. Slowly, steadily, and successfully he wrote the selected words, in the Morse telegraphic alphabet, as follows: *What hath God wrought?* It was instantaneously received by Mr. Vail in Baltimore, who was ignorant of the message to be sent. Two days afterwards, May 26th, the National Democratic Convention for the nomination of candidates assembled in Baltimore. It was during this convention that Morse's telegraph was first publicly used and proved successful. From this time the extension of the telegraph proceeded step by step, and sometimes with rapid strides, over the United States of America. Professor Morse had the proud satisfaction of seeing his invention acknowledged before the world as an American invention.

During these years of the successful completion of Morse's tele-

⁹ John B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. V., New York, 1906.

graphic plans, 1840-1850, there occurred demonstrations of bigotry and prejudice which make this period probably the most unhappy in our religious history. The labors and distractions involved in the building of the first telegraph did not occupy his mind, as they would the mind of an ordinary man, as to make him forget the ghost of his life — the papal menace. Catholic prejudice was his life's obsession and, in 1841, there came from his prolific pen a series of diatribes, first appearing in the *Journal of Commerce* and later published in a separate volume under the title: *Our Liberties defended; the Question discussed: is the Protestant or Papal System most favorable to Civil and Religious Liberty?* Added to the authority of the name Morse, the author now appended his new distinction, Professor. These particular anti-Catholic essays were but a small part of his writings at this time for from the moment his telegraph became a fact his time and talents were required to defend his proprietorship of the invention.

V.

“IMMINENT DANGERS TO THE FREE INSTITUTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES THROUGH FOREIGN IMMIGRATION AND THE PRESENT STATE OF NATURALIZATION LAWS”

In January, 1815, a convention was held at Hartford, Connecticut. The delegates were from the various parts of New England, convening for the purpose of recommending certain amendments to the Federal Constitution. One of these amendments was to exclude all naturalized citizens from all civil offices and from being elected to Congress. This was in an anti-Irish spirit. James Bryce, in *The American Commonwealth*, sums up the position of the Irish at that time when he says: “There is a disposition in the United States to use the immigrants, and especially the Irish, much as the cat is used in the kitchen to account for broken plates and food which disappears. New York was not an Eden before the Irish came; and would not become an Eden were they all to move on to San Francisco.”

This anti-Irish movement spread throughout the eastern States and eventually blossomed into the Native American Party. Anti-Catholic literature during the decade 1830-1840 became very bitter. Books and pamphlets appeared as fast as the printers could turn them out. The daily newspapers carried the most bitter anti-Catholic articles. Everyone seemed to be imbued with the spirit and the cry became, “Down with Popery.”

In 1835, there appeared a series of numbers in the *New York Journal of Commerce* written By *An American*, entitled: *Imminent Dangers to the Free Institutions of the United States through Foreign Immigration and the Present State of Naturalization Laws*. These were soon printed in pamphlet form because up to that date it was the most violent anti-Catholic literature that had been written. The author who signed himself *An American* was none other than the inventor of the telegraph, Samuel Finley Breese Morse. In his preface he states very clearly that "Foreign Immigration" is the cause of the degrading American character brought on "by numerous instances of riot and lawless violence in action, and a dangerous spirit of licentiousness in discussion." He also says, "There are other causes of a deeply serious nature, giving support, and strength, and systematic co-operation to all these adverse effects of foreign immigration, and to which it is high time every American should seriously turn his thoughts." Hence it was a national question of great importance and one distinctly separated from party politics. The aim was to unite all Americans of every party into one true American party in order to uphold the "principles which are distinctive of American institutions, principles opposed most thoroughly to absolute or priestly power."

After tracing very briefly the difference of conditions of the alien in France, where "a residence of ten years gives to the alien all the rights of a citizen" and America, where a residence of five years is all that is required to give the foreigner "a direct influence on its political affairs," Morse goes on to show that the principles of our democratic liberty are in great jeopardy due to Europe's despotism. Popery is in favor of monarchical power. The Pope is sending his representatives over here to instill into the hearts and souls of our American people a hatred for Republican liberty. All the countries of Europe have taken up the ideas of the Pope, especially Austria. One of the Austrian Cabinet, Frederick Schlegel, in a lecture given to strengthen the cause of absolute power, demonstrated one of the principal connecting points between European and American politics," when he said: "The great Nursery of these destructive principles (the principles of Democracy), the Great Revolutionary school for France and the rest of Europe, is North America." Austria could not attack us except through Popery, because to send her armies would be useless. Hence Austria has set out to spread throughout the country the Popish religion. The passage in question follows:

Immediately after the delivery of Schlegel's (a devoted Roman Catholic, and one of the Austrian Cabinet) lectures, which was in

the year 1828, a great society was formed in the Austrian capital, in Vienna, in 1829. The late Emperor (Charles X), and Prince Metternich, and the Crown Prince (now emperor), and all the civil and ecclesiastical officers of the empire, with the princes of Savoy and Piedmont, Hungary, Italy and Catholic France, uniting in it, and calling it after the name of a canonized King, St. Leopold. This society is formed for a great and express purpose. It has all the officers of government interested in it, from the Emperor down to the humblest in the Empire. It is not a small private association, but a great and extensive combination. And what is its purpose? Why, that "of promoting the greater activity of Catholic missions in America;" these are the words of their own reports. Let us examine the operation of this Austrian society for it is hard at work all around us. From a machinery of such a character and power, we shall doubtless be able to see already some effect. With its headquarters at Vienna, under the immediate direction and inspection of Metternich, the well known great managing general of the diplomacy of Europe, it makes itself already felt through the Republic. Its emissaries are here. And who are the emissaries? They are Jesuits. This society of men, after exerting their tyranny for upwards of 200 years, at length became so formidable to the world, threatening the entire subversion of all social order, that even the Pope, whose devoted subjects they are, and must be, by vow of their society, was compelled to dissolve them. They had not been suppressed, however, for fifty years, before the waning influence of Popery and Despotism required their useful labours, to resist the spreading light of Democratic liberty, and the Pope (Pius VII), simultaneously with the formation of the Holy Alliance, revived the order of the Jesuits in all their power. From their vow of "unqualified submission to the Sovereign Pontiff" they have been appropriately called the Pope's body guard. It should be known that Austrian influence elected the present Pope; his body guard are therefore at the service of Austria and these are the soldiers that the Leopold Society has sent to this country, and they are agents of this society, to execute its designs, whatever their designs may be. And do Americans need to be told what Jesuits are? If any are ignorant, let them inform themselves of their history without delay; no time is to be lost; their workings are before you in every day's events; they are a secret society, a sort of Masonic order, with superadded features of most revolting odiousness, and a thousand times more dangerous. They are not confined to one class in society; they are not merely priests, or priests of one religious creed, they are merchants, and lawyers, and editors, and men of any profession, and no profession, having no outward badge (in this country) by which to be recognized; they are about in all your society. They can assume any character, that of angels of light, or ministers of darkness to accomplish their one great end, the service upon which they are sent, whatever that service may be. "They are all educated men, prepared, and sworn to start at any moment in any direction, and for any service commanded by the general of their order, bound to no family, community or country,

by the ordinary ties which bind men; and sold for life to the cause of the Roman Pontiff." . . . Is there no danger to the Democracy of the country from such formidable foes arrayed against it? Is Metternich its friend? Is the Pope its friend? Are his official documents now daily put forth democratic in their character?

O, there is no danger to the Democracy, for those most devoted to the Pope, the Roman Catholics, especially the Irish Catholics, are all on the side of Democracy. Yes, to be sure they are all on the side of Democracy. They are just where I should look for them. Judas Iscariot joined with the true disciples. Jesuits are not fools. . . . This is a Democratic country, and the Democratic party is and ever must be the strongest party, unless ruined by traitors and Jesuits in the camp? . . . Let every real Democrat guard against this common Jesuitical artifice of tyrants, an artifice which there is much evidence to believe is practising against them at this moment, an artifice which, if not heeded, will surely be the ruin of democracy; it is founded on that well-known principle that "extremes meet." . . .

That Jesuits are at work upon the passions of American community, managing in various ways to gain control, must be evident to all. . . . There are some, perhaps, who are under the impression that the order of Jesuits is a purely religious Society for the dissemination of the Roman Catholic religion, and, therefore, comes within the protection of our laws, and must be tolerated. There cannot be a greater mistake. It was from the beginning a political organization, an absolute Monarchy masked by religion. It has been aptly styled "tyranny by religion." . . .

It is this (Roman Catholic) form of religion that is most implicated in the conspiracy against our liberties. It is in this sect that the Jesuits are organized. It is this sect that is proclaimed by one of its own most brilliant and profound literary men to be hostile in its very nature to republican liberty; and it is the active extension of this sect that Austria is endeavoring to promote throughout the Republic. . . .

It is in the Roman Catholic ranks that we are principally to look for material to be employed by the Jesuits, and in what condition do we find this sect at present in our country? We find it spreading itself into every nook and corner of the land; churches, chapels, colleges, nunneries and convents, are springing up as if by magic everywhere; and activity hitherto unknown among the Roman Catholics pervades all their ranks, and yet whence the means for all these efforts? Except here and there funds or favours collected from an inconsistent Protestant (so called probably because born in a Protestant country, who is flattered or wheedled by some Jesuit artifice to give his aid to their cause), the greatest part of the pecuniary means for all these works are from abroad. They are contributions of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, of Prince Metternich, of the late Charles X, and the other despots combined in the Leopold Society. And who are the members of the Roman Catholic communion? What proportion are natives of this land, nurtured under our own institu-

tions, and well versed in the nature of American liberty? Is it not notorious that the greater part are foreigners from the various Catholic countries of Europe? Emigration has of late years been specially promoted among this class of foreigners and they have been in the proportion of three to one of all other emigrants arriving on our shores; they are from Ireland, Germany, Poland, and Belgium. From about the period of the formation of the Leopold Society, Catholic emigration increased in an amazing degree. . . . The principal emigrants are from Ireland and Germany. We have lately been told by the captain of a lately arrived Austrian vessel which, by the by, brought seventy emigrants from Antwerp, that a desire is suddenly manifested among the poorer class of the Belgian population, to emigrate to America. They are mostly, if not all, Roman Catholics, be it remarked, for Belgium is a Catholic country and Austrian vessels are bringing them here. Whatever the cause of all this movement abroad to send to this country, their poorer classes, the fact is certain, the class of emigrants is known, and instrument, Austria, is seen in it—the same power that directs the Leopold Foundation.

Hence we should have a change in our naturalization laws. Just what this change should have been was a serious question. The editor of the *Evening Post* suggested that foreigners be admitted “to citizenship the moment they set foot in the country, provided they make suitable declaration of their intention of residence.” Others wanted a change with the view of discouraging immigration completely or a change in the right of suffrage. Others held that the immigrant has a merit superior to the Americans because he has made this the country of his choice. “The claim of the foreigner to equal right with native citizens, on the ground of the declared principles of the government, and of abstract natural rights” is groundless. The Jesuits, the Pope’s emissaries, are to be watched carefully. The nature of the Roman Catholic system ought to be examined. The system that Austria and the other despots of Europe are promoting in these United States is “Popery.”

“What is the character of Popery?” You must not ask that question,” says one. ‘You have no right to ask it’ ‘No Church and State,’ cries a third. . . . ‘It is persecution, and intolerance, and illiberality, and bigotry,’ cries a sixth, ‘for the Roman Catholic religion is changed; it is not that bloody persecuting religion that it was in by-gone times, when John Huss and others were burnt as heretics. Roman Catholics have grown tolerant and liberal; they are now favorable to liberty; they advocate all the rights of man, such as, right of private judgment; the liberty of the press. They have imbibed the spirit of the age.’ Yet, who says it is changed? Will any Roman Catholic Bishop say it has changed any of its principles one iota? And is there any Roman Catholic ecclesiastic who,

authorized by his superior, will dare to deny, under his own proper name,

1st. That the Roman Catholic priesthood are taught at this day (A. D. 1835), to account Protestants worse than Pagans.

2nd. That they are taught to consider all who are baptized, even by those they term heretics, as lawfully under the power of the Church of Rome, over whom the Pope has rightful domination.

3rd. That they are taught, that they cannot tolerate the rites of any who are not of the Church of Rome, and that whenever it is for the good of the Church, they must exterminate them.

4th. That they are taught, that they may compel, by corporal punishments, all who are baptized; and consequently nearly all, if not all, of every Protestant religious denomination, to submit to the Roman Church.

5th. That they are taught that these punishments may be confiscation of property, exile, imprisonment, and death.

6th. That they are taught, that expediency alone may restrain them from the exercise of any of these rights of compulsion against heretics; and that consequently, whenever they have the power, and it shall be thought expedient, it is their duty to exercise them. Are these startling propositions? Consider them well, Americans. They are the doctrines of the Church of Rome.

It is little wonder that the *Imminent Dangers to the Free Institutions of the United States through Foreign Immigration and the Present State of Naturalization Laws*, became a political pamphlet of supreme importance in the eyes of the Native American Political Party. By party is meant any section of men who nominate candidates of their own for the presidency and vice-presidency of the United States. In the United States, the history of party politics begins with the Constitutional Convention of 1787 at Philadelphia. On the drafting of the Constitution, during its debates and discussions, two opposite tendencies, which soon afterwards appeared on a larger scale in the State conventions, to which the new instrument was submitted for acceptance, were revealed. There were the centrifugal and centripetal tendencies—a tendency to maintain both the freedom of the individual citizen and the independence in everything except foreign policy and national defense, of the several States. When George Washington was chosen as the first President of the United States and with him a Senate and House of Representatives, the tendencies which had opposed or supported the adoption of the Constitution reappeared not only in Congress but also in the President's cabinet. Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, counselled a line of action which assumed and required the exercise of large powers by the Federal government, while Thomas Jefferson,

the secretary of state, desired practically to restrict its action to foreign affairs. Hence two parties were formed. The Federalists, the first party government under the Constitution, were under the leadership of Hamilton. It was this party that had passed, on June 18, 1789, the new law requiring that fourteen years of residence, and a declaration of intention five years prior to application, were necessary for naturalization. The old Federalist party fell in 1800 and disappeared in 1814. The party under Jefferson took the name of Democratic-Republicans. The Federalists claimed to be the apostles of liberty, while the Republicans represented the principle of order. The disappearance of the Federal party in 1814 left the Republicans master of the field until about 1830 when sectional divisions arose thereby forming two new parties, the Democrats and the National-Republicans, ultimately the Whig Party. The Democrats carried on the dogmas and traditions of the old Jeffersonian Republicans while the Whigs represented many of the views of the former Federalists. In 1831 and 1832 two minor parties arose. They were called the anti-Masonic party and the Liberal party. These parties revealed the fact that a popular vote when backed by party organizations might force issues to a hearing and might threaten the governing parties into compliance. The anti-Masonic party had its stronghold in New York State.

Samuel S. Smith, a renegade priest, who published in New York a filthy sheet styled *The Downfall of Babylon* and neglected no opportunity to assail the Catholic Church, announced that the formal organization of the Native-American Party took place at a meeting held at the North American Hotel, New York City, June 10, 1835. The organization adopted the name, "Native American Democratic Association," and resolutions were passed lamenting the coming of so many foreigners into the country, saying that it was not compatible with their honor as native citizens to aid in the election of any foreigner to any office of trust, or power, and that native citizens ought always be preferred for every civil or municipal office. *The Downfall* hailed the association as a "religious scheme for the salvation of our country." In a short time, an organization was so far effected as to warrant the nomination of a distinct American ticket for local office. The second purpose of the Native-American Party was to extend the time required for citizenship from five to twenty-one years. It will be found that the outbursts of Nativism are always concomitants to an immigrant wave. Know-Nothingism, for example, which was the first pronounced manifestation of Nativism, was at its height in 1855, the year after the

first great immigrant wave reached its peak. Sporadic Nativist societies had begun to appear prior to Know-Nothingism, such as the Patriotic Sons of America, 1847, and the Native-American Party, 1835. The peak year of the second wave was 1873, the effect of which was seen in the planks introduced into Republican and Democratic platforms in 1876 in support of Nativism, the Republican plank again going so far as to recommend a constitutional amendment preventing the use of public funds or property in support of sectarian schools. The third peak of immigration was reached in 1882 with a slightly lesser peak in 1892. During this period Nativism asserted itself in the American Protective Association organized in 1887. The peak of the fourth and last immigrant wave was 1907 with a slightly lesser peak in 1914. The Ku Klux Klan was organized in 1915. The Klan has become a national movement mainly because it has tapped the old stream of Nativist traditions.

The growing antagonism to the Irish immigrant during the decade, 1830-1840, and the formation of the so-called "Native American Association" were due in part to the aggressive self-consciousness and political activities of the large masses of Irish immigrants in the Eastern cities. Foreign nationalistic societies of all kinds were a great irritant. Even so harmless an organization as the Boston Hibernian Lyceum aroused the wrath of the unreasonable "Nativists."

VI.

LATER LIFE AND DEATH (1845-1872)

Professor S. F. B. Morse, the soul of the anti-Catholic movement during this period, was chosen in 1835 as the Native-American candidate for the office of Mayor of New York, but in spite of the large vote he polled he was defeated. Morse gives a "Native American View" of the situation in his pamphlet: *Imminent Dangers*. Morse says:

Few, out of the great cities, are aware what sophistry has of late been spread among the more ignorant class of foreigners, to induce them to clan together, and to assert what they are pleased to call their rights. The ridiculous claim to superior privileges over native citizens, which I have noticed, is a specimen. . . . Already has the influence of bad councils led the deluded emigrant, particularly the Irish emigrant, to adopt such a course as to alienate from him the American people. Emigrants have been induced to prefer such arrogant claims, they have nurtured their foreign feelings and their for-

eign nationality to such a degree, and manifested such a determination to create and strengthen, a separate and a foreign interest, that the American people can endure it no longer, and a direct hostile interest is now in array against them. This is an effect natural from such a cause; it is one long predicted in the hope of avoiding the evil. If evil is the consequence, the writer at least washed his hands of the guilt. The name and character of foreigners has, by this conduct of emigrants and their advocates, become odious, and the public voice is becoming louder and louder, and it will increase to unanimity, or at least so far as real American feeling pervades the hearts of America, until its languages will be intelligible and audible even to those deaf ears, who no affect neither to hear nor to heed it. . . . It is that anamalous, nondescript . . . thing, neither foreign nor native, yet a moiety of each, now one, now the other, both or neither as circumstances suit, against whom I war; a naturalized foreigner, not a naturalized citizen; a man from Ireland, or France, or Germany or other foreign lands, renounces his native country and adopts America, professes to become an American and still, being received, sworn to be a citizen, talks (for example) of Ireland as "his home," as "his beloved country," resents anything said against the Irish as said against him, glories in being Irish, forms and cherishes an Irish interest, brings hither Irish local feuds, and forgets, in short, all his new obligations as an American, and retains both a name and a feeling and a practice in regard to his adopted country at war with propriety, with decency, with gratitude, and with true patriotism. I hold no parley with such contradictions as Irish fellow-citizens, French fellow-citizens, or German fellow-citizens. With as much consistency might we say foreign natives, or foreign friends. But the present is no time either for compliment or nice discrimination. When the country is invaded by an army, it is not the moment to indulge in pity towards the deluded soldiers of the various hostile corps, who act as they are commanded by their superior officers. It is then no time to make distinction among the officers, lest we injure those who are voluntarily fighting against us, or who may be friends in the enemy's camp. The first thing is to bring the whole army to unconditional surrender, and when they have laid down their arms in a body, and acknowledged our sovereignty, then good fellowship, and courtesy, and pity will have leisure to indulge in discriminating friends and foes, and in showing to each their respective and appropriate sympathies.

We have now to resist the momentous evil that threatens us from foreign conspiracy. The conspirators are in the foreign importations. Innocent and guilty are brought over together. We must of necessity suspect them all. That we are most seriously endangered, admits not of the slightest doubt; we are experiencing the natural reaction of European upon American principles, and it is infatuation, it is madness not to see it, not to guard against it. A subtle attack is making upon us by foreign powers. The proofs are as strong as the nature of the case allows. They have been adduced again and again and they have not only been uncontradicted, but

silently acquiesced in, and have acquired fresh confirmation by every day's observation. The arbitrary governments of Europe—those governments who keep the people in the most abject obedience at the point of the bayonet, with Austria at their head, have combined to attack us in every vulnerable point that the nation exposes to their assault. They are compelled by self-preservation to attempt our destruction—they must destroy democracy. It is with them a case of life and death, they must succeed or perish. If they do not overthrow American liberty, American liberty will overthrow their despotism. . . . Will you despise the cry of danger? Well, be it so. Believe the foreign Jesuit rather than our own countrymen. Open wide your doors. Yes, throw down your walls. Invite, nay, allure, your enemies. Enlarge your almshouses and your prisons; be not sparing of your money; complain not of the outrages in your streets, nor the burden of your taxes. You will be repaid in praises of your toleration and liberty. What though European despots have compelled you to the necessity of employing your lives in toiling and providing for their outcast poor, and have caused you to be vexed, and your habit outraged by the expatriated turbulence of their cities, instead of allowing you to rejoice in the prosperity, and happiness, and peaceful neighborhood of your own well-provided, well-instructed children. . . .

What were the circumstances of the country when laws so favorable to the foreigner were passed to induce him to emigrate and settle in this country? The answer is obvious. Our early history explains it. In our national infancy we needed the strength of numbers. Powerful nations, to whom we were accessible by fleets, and consequently also by armies, threatened us. Our land had been the theatre of contests between French, and English, and Spanish armies, for more than a century. Our numbers were so few and so scattered, that as a people we could not unite to repel aggression. The war of Independence, too, has wasted us. We wanted numerical strength; we felt our weakness in numbers. Safety, then, national safety, was the motive which urged us to use every effort to increase our population and to induce a foreign emigration. Then foreigners seemed all important, and the policy of alluring them hither, too palpable to be opposed successfully even by the remonstrances of Jefferson. We would be benefited by the emigrants and we in return could bestow on them a gift beyond price, by simply making them citizens. Manifest as this advantage seemed in the increase of our numerical strength, Mr. Jefferson looked beyond the advantage of the moment, and saw the distant evil. . . . Now, if under the most favorable circumstances for the country, when it could most be benefited, when numbers were most urgently needed, Mr. Jefferson could discover the evil afar off, and protest against encouraging foreign immigration, how much more is the measure to be deprecated, when circumstances have so entirely changed, that instead of adding strength to the country, immigration adds weakness, weakness physical and moral. And what overwhelming force does Mr. Jefferson's reasoning acquire, by the vast change of circumstances which has taken place both in

Europe and in this country, in our earlier and in our later conditions? Then we were few, feeble and scattered. Now we are numerous, strong, and concentrated. Then our accessions by immigrations were real accessions of strength from the ranks of the learned and good, from the enlightened mechanic and artisan, and intelligent husbandman. Now immigration is the accession of weakness, from the ignorant and the vicious, or the priest-ridden slaves of Ireland and Germany or the outcast tenants of the poorhouses and prisons of Europe. And again: Then our beautiful system of government had not been unfolded to the world to the terror of tyranny; the rising brightness of American Democracy was not yet so far above the horizon as to wake their slumbering anxieties, or more than to gleam faintly, in hope, upon their enslaved subjects. Then immigration was natural, it was an attraction of affinities, it was an attraction of liberty. Immigrants were proscribed for conscience's sake, and for opinions' sake, the real lovers of liberty, Europe's loss, and our gain. . . . Now emigrants are selected for a service to their tyrants, and by their tyrants, not for their affinity to liberty, but for their mental servitude, and their docility in obeying the orders of their priests. They are transported in thousands, nay, in hundreds of thousands, to our shores, to our loss and Europe's gain. Again I say . . . let the law of the land be so changed that no foreigner who comes into the country after the law is passed shall ever be entitled to the right of suffrage. This is just ground; it is practicable ground; it is defensible ground, and it is safe and prudent ground; and I cannot better close than in words of Mr. Jefferson, "The time to guard against corruption and tyranny is before they shall have gotten hold on us; it is better to keep the wolf out of the fold, than to trust to drawing his teeth and talons after he has entered"

. . . . What reason can be assigned, why they who profess to have become Americans, should organize themselves into Foreign National Societies all over the country; and under their foreign appellation, hold correspondence with each other to promote their foreign interest? Can any good reason be given why such foreign associations should be allowed to exist in this country? The Irish have been thus organized for many years. The objects of one of three Irish societies will serve to illustrate the objects generally of all these associations in the midst of us. "The Boston Hibernian Lyceum," says the Catholic Diary of March 14, 1835, "organized about two years ago, is composed of Irish young men for the diffusion among each other"—of what? "of mutual sympathy and mutual co-operation, in whatever may aid to qualify them to meet and discharge their responsibilities as the representatives of their native as well as citizens of their adopted country, as Irishmen and Americans." Here we have an avowal directly of an organization to promote a foreign interest in the country. . . .

It is notorious that the excitement respecting the Roman Catholic emigrant had existed scarcely a year. The exposure of foreign designs through the Roman Catholic religion, and the discussions arising out of it, all the riotous conduct of Catholics and others, and

among other things the public notices of these very organizations, have all occurred within the last year. But the organizations of the Catholics, and particularly of the Irish, are of many years standing. The Society at Boston, above quoted, and one of the most recent, was formed long before any excitement on the subject "two years ago," says the Catholic Diary. It was discovering these organizations, already formed on the part of foreigners, that excited the jealousy and distrust on the part of the American people.

The first National Convention of the Native-Americans assembled at Philadelphia, on the 4th day of July, 1845, for the purpose of devising a plan of concerted political action in defense of American institutions against the encroachments of foreign influence open or concealed. This is sufficient to make clear that the antagonism to foreigners was linked with opposition to the Catholic faith; and in this respect the story is the same down to the present moment. Hatred for Irish ascendancy in this country has gone hand-in-hand with hatred for the Church. The main idea has been to keep the Irish out of the professions, out of civil offices of trust, and thus to impoverish them financially and intellectually. The point of attack was not primarily in their being Catholic, but in their being Irish. The persistence and development of this illiberal and un-American spirit found our people ill-prepared to defend themselves against the attacks made upon them, emanating for the most part from the ministers and disseminated by sectarian newspapers all over the land. The Catholic clergy of those days were men of peace who had been trained to suffer persecution for conscience' sake and who would have preferred to escape from the strife and public disputation over matters of religion which the exigencies of the times forced upon them.

Professor Morse was a Christian in his faith and practice. He first made a public profession of religion in Charlestown, Mass., in the Church (Congregational) of which his father was pastor. He was the superintendent of its Sabbath-school.

Those who knew him most intimately, and held communion with him in hours of retirement from the conflicts of the world, know that he was governed in all his actions by the fear of God and love of his fellow-men. Few men have given more in proportion to their wealth than he did. The first earnings of the telegraph he gave to the Church. Colleges and theological seminaries received liberal donations from him. Missionary and other religious charities were constant recipients of his benefactions. Art and science were always

regarded by him as proper objects for the use of his money.¹⁰ And yet, his attitude towards the Irish Catholics in this country was far from being charitable.

From 1840 on, emigration from Europe had steadily increased. As Morse describes it,

It is estimated from official statistics that about 1,160,000 people had arrived in the United States from 1840-1850, mostly from Ireland on account of the Famine. With the steady growth of Catholicity new churches were erected, new dioceses begun and bishops appointed; and these evidences of Catholic progress filled the souls of the Protestant American citizens with alarm. The spirit led to the formation of the Know-Nothing or American Party, pledged to the same principles as the Native American Party which had preceded it—anti-Catholicism and anti-Foreign Know-Nothingism was the first pronounced manifestation of Nativism, and reached its height in 1855, the year after the first great immigrant wave reached its peak. The first act of the Know-Nothings was at Providence, R. I., in 1852. The students of Harvard and Yale were leaders in the movement and their recreation times in Boston and New Haven were spent in breaking the windows of Catholic houses, churches and convents, and in insulting the Sisters and priests on the streets. At Providence, the conversion of a Protestant lady, the daughter of a prominent American family, and her reception into the Sisters of Mercy Convent there, was the signal for the attack. The town was placarded calling on all loyal citizens to assist in destroying the convent. The Mayor came to the convent and advised the Sisters to leave. On their refusal, he left them at the mercy of the mob.¹¹

The inveterate hatred many Americans had for all things Catholic is shown very clearly by the bigotry in the Army and Navy, where Catholic soldiers and sailors were forced at the point of the bayonet to attend Protestant sermons. The history of the Know-Nothingism from 1852 down to our Civil War (1861) is but another chapter in the record of American folly. In Manchester, N. H., Lowell, Mass., and throughout New England, churches were burnt, priests and Sisters attacked; the Fourth of July was used as an occasion to burn down Catholic property, while Thanksgiving day was used as a day of excitement from Protestant pulpits against the Church. Among the acts brought about by the Know-Nothing influence were the Convent Inspection Bill of Massachusetts, in 1835; the attack on St. Mary's Church, Newark, New Jersey, in September, 1854; the Bloody Monday of August 5, 1855, in Louisville, Kentucky; the disgraceful treatment meted out to Archbishop Bedini, who had been sent by

¹⁰ Prime, *op. cit.*

¹¹ Condon, *op. cit.*

Pius IX to examine into numerous ecclesiastical matters here, and the plot to assassinate him; and the spread of anti-Catholic street preaching in New York and Philadelphia. The backbone of the Know-Nothing movement collapsed in 1861, when at the first call of President Lincoln, 150,000 Irish Catholics volunteered for the war.

In 1854, appeared a secret political society, pledged to the exclusion from office of all except native-born and those friendly to such exclusion. This society was opposed to any who professed the Catholic religion.

The Patriotic Sons of America, founded in Philadelphia in 1847 and reorganized in 1866, sought to inculcate pure Americanism by opposing all foreign influence, by insisting upon the separation of Church and State, by keeping public schools free from ecclesiastical influence and by requiring longer residence of foreigners before admission to citizenship. This has remained the general platform of all subsequent Nativist organizations.

The rapid growth of the Catholic Church called out, in 1894, another anti-Catholic movement in American history, namely, the American Protective Association. Its aim was the destruction of the Catholic Church's influence; and the exclusion of the Catholic immigrants from our shores. The A. P. A. asserts: "We attack no man's religion as long as he does not attempt to make his religion an element of political power."¹² Yet a member of the A. P. A. was bound by his oath never to favor the nomination of a Catholic for public office nor to employ a Catholic in any services where a Protestant could be obtained. The A. P. A. movement boasted a system of espionage by which spies were detailed to report the doings of prominent Catholics and to make public the secret plottings of these "enemies of the republic."

The mantle of the American Protective Association has fallen upon the shoulders of the Ku Klux Klan so far as anti-Catholicism is concerned. In parts of the Middle West, where the American Protective Association found its main support, the Klan organizers have been endorsed by former members of the A. P. A., thus indicating the kinship of the two movements. There is in existence today about thirty-five periodicals in different parts of the country, more abominable in tone and more immoral than those of the early '30s devoted to one purpose—the villification of our Church, and the determination to arouse the uneducated element of the American people to violence against the liberty the Catholic religion enjoys in

¹² John M. Meeklin, *The Ku Klux Klan*, New York, 1924.

this country. The Klan is a lineal descendant of Know-Nothingism and the American Protective Association and hence of the Native Americanism of 1835, whose fundamental political dogma was: "Americans alone shall govern America."

In 1848, Morse was compelled to defend his invention in the courts. His case was brought to the Supreme Court who on January 30, 1854, handed down the decision that "Samuel F. B. Morse is the true and first inventor of the recording telegraph."¹³ In 1847, Morse purchased a home in Poughkeepsie, and the following year, 1848, he married Miss Sarah G. Griswold, the daughter of his cousin. Except for an occasional trip to Europe, Morse spent his summers with his family in Poughkeepsie and his winters in New York City, till his death, April 2, 1872, in New York.

The *New York World* for Wednesday, April 3, 1872, the day after his death, says of him:

Professor Morse has died in a green old age—he almost completed his eighty-first year. To few men has it been permitted to assist at their own apotheoses, and yet such has been his privilege. He has lived long enough to hear the favorable verdict of posterity—for no future revision will fundamentally alter or amend the view taken of his work. He has been fortunate in his ancestors, relatives and friends. He has had "honor, love, obedience, troops of friends." He has not only taken, but given. And today the civilized world goes into mourning for a plain, American citizen—an artist and inventor—who, true to himself, never dabbled in politics or took part in war. We weave an oaken garland today not for the king, statesman, or conqueror, but for the man who unostentatiously benefited his fellow men.

The *New York Daily Tribune* for April 4, 1872, speaking of his world-wide fame says:

His last hours were passed so quietly that there is nothing of interest to record concerning them, and when he peacefully breathed his last he was surrounded only by the members of his family. Governor Hoffman (New York) sent the following communication to the (State) Legislature: "The telegraph today announces the death of its inventor, Samuel F. B. Morse. Born in Massachusetts, his home has for many years of his eventful life been New York—his fame belongs to neither, but to the country and the world. Yet it seems fitting that this great State in which he lived and died, should be the first to pay appropriate honors to his memory. Living, he received from Governments more public honors than was ever paid to any private citizen. Dead, let all the people pay homage to his name.

¹³ Prime, *op. cit.*

The same paper for April 5, 1872, the day of his funeral in New York City, says:

The telegraph circuit of the world will today be tremulous with the announcement that the mortal remains of S. F. B. Morse, the great electrician, are borne to their last resting place. Wherever the sensitive vibrations have penetrated there will be a new sense of loss as men reflect that the great man has passed forever out of the reach of the world's honors and reverence. His fame has encompassed the globe, and everywhere his name will be held in high esteem. . . . As an artist, philosopher, public benefactor, useful citizen, and Christian gentleman, he has gained the admiration and affections of many and different classes; the Art, Science, and Philanthropy will do honor to the memory of the man whose death, coming when he was full of years and honors, is thus shorn of half its gloomy surroundings.

Many American cities, towns, and States, the United States government and foreign countries passed resolutions expressing their sorrow at the death of a great artist, poet, litterateur and inventor—Samuel Finley Breese Morse.

REV. FRANCIS JOHN CONNORS, A. F. M.

Maryknoll, N. Y.

ILLINOIS: THE CRADLE OF CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILIZATION IN MID-AMERICA

(Continued from July issue)

CHAPTER IV

FATHER HENNEPIN'S PART IN LA SALLE'S VOYAGES

By reason of a book that was published closely subsequent to the La Salle explorations attributed (falsely we think) to Father Louis Hennepin in which false claims were made for him of a visit to the Gulf of Mexico many writers have denounced him as a prevaricator and a fraud.

It is certain, however, that all that appears in his authentic writings was true and a better understanding of the La Salle journeys may be had by reading Father Hennepin's works from which we quote:

Before leaving Fort Creve Couer (at the present site of Peoria) La Salle directed Tonti to take charge and left with him the two Recollect Fathers, Ribourde and Membre. For Father Hennepin he had another mission—the exploration of the Mississippi to its source.

Taking two companions in a canoe, Father Hennepin paddled down the Illinois to the Mississippi and pursued his journey up the Mississippi. The journey was practically without incident until on April 12, 1680, they encountered a party of Sioux Indians, were captured and held prisoners until released at the behest of Daniel Greysolon d'Lhut, a noted French hunter for whom the city of Duluth is named. They were able to proceed on their journey to near the headwaters of the Mississippi and passed and named St. Anthony's Falls. In his letters he tells the story:

FATHER HENNEPIN'S STORY

An Account of the building of a New Fort on the River of the Illinois, named by the Savages Checagou, and by us Fort Crevecoeur; as also a barque to go down the River Mississippi.

I must observe here that the hardest winter lasts not above two months in this charming country; so that on the 15th, of January there came a sudden thaw which made the rivers navigable and the weather so mild as it is with us in the middle of the Spring. M. la Salle improving this fair season, desired me to go down the river with him to choose a place fit to build our fort. After having viewed the country we pitched upon an eminence on the bank of the river, defended on that side of the river and on two others by two ditches the rains had made very deep by succession of time; so that it was

accessible only by one way; therefore we cast a line to join those two natural ditches, and made the eminence steep on every side, supporting the earth with great pieces of timber. We made a hasty lodgment thereon, to be ready to defend us in case the Savages would obstruct the building of our fort; but nobody offering to disturb us, we went on diligently with our work. Fathers Gabriel, Zenobe and I made in the meantime a cabin of planks, wherein our workmen came to prayers every morning and evening; but having no wine, we could not say Mass. The fort being half finished, M. la Salle lodged himself in the middle with M. Tonti and everybody took his post. We placed our forge along the courtin on the side of the wood and laid in a great quantity of coals for that use.

In the meantime our thoughts were always bent towards our discovery, and M. la Salle and I had frequent conferences about it: But our greatest difficulty was to build a barque, for our sawers being gone, we did not know what to do. However, as the timber was cheap, we told our men that if any of them would undertake to saw boards for building the said barque, we might surmount all other difficulties. Two men undertook it; and though they had never tried it before, they succeeded very well, so that we began to build a barque, the keel whereof was forty-two feet long. Our men went on so briskly with the work, that on the first of March our barque was half built and all the timber ready prepared for the finishing of it. Our fort was also very near finished; and we named it the Fort of Crevecoeur, because the desertion of our men, and the other difficulties we labored under had almost broke our hearts.

Though the winter is not harder nor longer in the country of the Illinois than in Provence, the snow remained upon the earth in the year 1680 for twenty days together, which had not been seen in the memory of man. This made the Savages mightily concerned, and brought upon us a world of inconveniences besides the many others we suffered. In the meantime, we perfected our fort; and our barque was in such a forwardness, that we might have expected to be in a condition to sail in a very short time, had we provided with all other necessaries; but hearing nothing of our ship, and therefore wanting the rigging and other tackle for our barque, we found ourselves in great perplexity, and did not know what to do in this sad juncture, being above five hundred leagues from Fort Frontenac, whither it was almost impossible to return at that time, because the snow made the traveling very dangerous by land, and the ice made it impracticable to our canoes.

M. la Salle did not doubt then but his beloved Griffin was lost; his great courage buoyed him up, and he resolved to return to Fort Frontenac by land, notwithstanding the snow, and the unspeakable dangers attending to so great a voyage. We had a long conference about it in private, wherein having examined all things, it was resolved that he should return to Fort Frontenac with three men to bring along with him the necessary things to proceed on our discovery, while I with two men should go in a canoe to the River

Mississippi and endeavor to get the friendship of those nations inhabiting the banks of that river. Our resolution was certainly very great and bold, but there was this essential difference, that the inhabitants of the countries through which M. la Salle was to travel, knew the Europeans; whereas those Savages whom I designed to visit, had never heard of us in their life; and had been represented by the Illinois, as the most barbarous nation in the world. However, M. la Salle and I had courage enough to undertake our difficult task, but we had much ado to persuade five of our men to follow us or to engage to expect our return at Fort Crevecoeur.¹

Containing an Account of what was transacted at Fort Crevecoeur before M. la Salle's return to Fort Frontenac; and the instructions we received from a Savage concerning the River Mississippi.

Before M. la Salle and I parted, we found means to undeceive our men, and removed the groundless fears they had conceived from what the Illinois, through the suggestions of Monso, had told us concerning the dangers or rather the impossibility of sailing upon the River Mississippi. Some Savages inhabiting beyond that river, came to the Camp of the Illinois and gave us an account of it, very different from what Nikanape had told us; some other Savages owned that it was navigable and not interrupted by rocks and falls, as the Illinois would make us believe; and one of the Illinois themselves, being gained by some small presents, told us in great secrecy that the account their Chief had given us was a downright forgery, contrived on purpose to oblige us to give over our enterprise. This revived somewhat our men; but they were still wavering and irresolute, and therefore M. la Salle said that he would fully convince them that the Illinois had resolved in their council to forge that account in order to stop our voyage, and a few days after we met with a favorable opportunity for it.

The Illinois had made an excursion Southward, as they were returning with some prisoners, one of their warriors came before their comrades and visited us at our Fort; We entertained him as well as we could, and asked him several questions touching the River Mississippi, from whence he came, and where he had been oftentimes, giving him to understand that some other Savage had given us an account of it. He took a piece of Charcoal and drew a map of the course of that river, which I found afterwards pretty exact; and told us that he had been in a pyroque, that is, a canoe made of the trunk of a tree from the mouth of this river, very near the place where the Mississippi falls into the great Lake; for so they called the sea. That there was neither falls nor rapid currents as we had been told; that it was very broad towards the great Lake, and interrupted with banks of sand; but that there were large canals betwixt them, deep enough for any pyroque. He told us also the name of several na-

¹ Thwaites: *A New Discovery of a Large Country in America*, pp. 170-173.

tions inhabiting the banks of the Mississippi and of several rivers that fall into it. I set down in my journal all that he told us, of which I shall perhaps give a larger account in another place. We made him a small present to thank him for his kindness in discovering a truth which the chief of his nation had so carefully concealed. He desired us to hold our tongue and never mention him, which we promised, and gave him an axe, wherewith we shut his mouth, according to the custom of the Savages when they recommend a secret.

The next day after prayers, we went to the village of the Illinois, whom we found in the cabin of one of their chiefs, who entertained them with a bear whose flesh is much valued among them. They desired us to sit down upon a fine mat of rushes: And sometimes after our interpreter told them that we were come to acquaint them that the Maker of all things and the Master of the lives of men took a particular care of us and had been pleased to let us have a true account of the river Mississippi; the navigation whereof they had represented to us as impracticable. We added all the particulars we had learned, but in such terms that it was impossible they should suspect any of their men.

The Savages were much surprised, and did not doubt but we had that account by some extraordinary way; therefore, they shut their mouths with their hands, which is their usual custom to express their admiration by. They told us frankly afterwards that the great desire they had to stop amongst them our Captain and the grey-coats or barefoot, as they called the Franciscans, had obliged them to forge the stories they had told us, and to conceal the truth; but since we had come to the knowledge of it by another way, they would tell us all that they knew, and confirmed every particular their warrior had told us. This confession removed the fears of our men, who were a few days after still more fully persuaded that the Illinois had only designed to frighten us from our discovery: For several Savages of the Nations of Osages, Cikaga and Akansas came to see us, and brought fine furs to barter for our axes. They told us that the Mississippi was navigable almost from its source to the sea, and gave us great encouragement to go on with our design, assuring us that all the nations inhabiting along the river from the mouth of that of the Illinois to the sea would come to meet us and dance the Calumet of Peace as they express it, and make an alliance with us.

The Miamis arrived much about that time and danced the Calumet with the Illinois, making an alliance with them against the Iroquois, their implacable enemies. We were witnesses to their treaty, and M. la Salle made them some presents, the better to oblige both parties to the observation of their league.

We were three missionaries for that handful of Europeans at Fort Crevecoeur, and therefore we thought fit to divide ourselves: Father Gabriel being very old, was to continue with our men; and Father Zenobe among the Illinois, having desired it himself, in hopes to convert that numerous nation: And I, as I have already related, was to go on with our discovery. Father Zenobe lived already among the

Illinois but the rude manners of that people made him soon weary of it. His landlord, whose name was Omahouka, that is to say Wolf, was the head of a tribe, and took a special care of Father Zenobe, especially after M. la Salle had made him some presents: He loved him as a child, but however, I perceived in the visits he made us, (for he lived but within half a League of our Fort) that he was not satisfied to live amongst that brutish nation, though he had already learned their tongue. This obliged me to offer him to take his place, provided he would supply mine, and go on with our discovery amongst several nations, whose language we did not understand, and who had never heard us; but Father Zenobe foreseeing the danger and fatigue I was like to be exposed to, chose to remain with the Illinois, whose temper we knew and with whom he was able to converse.

M. la Salle left M. Tonti to command in Fort Crevecoeur, and ordered our carpenter to prepare some thick planks of oak to fence the deck of our barque in the nature of a parapet, to cover it against the arrows of the Savages in case they designed to shoot at us from the shore. Then calling his men together, he desired them to obey M. Tonti's orders in his absence, to live in a Christian union and charity; to be courageous and firm in their design; and above all to give no credit to the false reports that the Savages might make unto them, either of him, or of their comrades that were going with me. He assured them that he would return with all the speed imaginable and bring along with him a fresh supply of men, ammunition and rigging for our barque, and that in the meantime, he left them arms and other things necessary for a vigorous defence in case their enemies should attack them before his return.

He told me afterwards that he expected I should depart without any further delay, but I told him that though I had promised him to do it, yet a defluxion I had on my gums a year since, as he knew very well, obliged me to return to Canada to be cured, and that I would then come back with him. He was very much surprised and told me he would write to my superiors that I had obstructed the good success of our mission, and desired Father Gabriel to persuade me to the contrary. That good man had been my master during my Novitiate in our Convent of Bethune in the Province of Artois, and therefore I had so great a respect for him that I yielded to his advice, and considered that since a man of his age had ventured to come along with me in so dangerous a mission, it would look as pusillanimity in me to return and leave him. That Father had left a very good estate, being heir of a Noble family of the Province of Burgundy, and I must own that his example revived my courage upon several occasions.

M. la Salle was mightily pleased when I told him I was resolved to go, notwithstanding my indisposition: He embraced me and gave me a Calumet of Peace, and two men to manage our canoe, whose names were Anthony Auguel, surnamed the Picard du Gay and Mitchel Ako, of the Province of Poictou to whom he gave some com-

modities to the value of about 1000 livres to trade with the Savages or make presents. He gave to me in particular and for my own use, ten knives, twelve shoe-maker's awls or bodkins, a small roll of tobacco from Martinico, about two pounds of Raffade; that is to say little pearls or rings of colored glass, wherewith the Savages make bracelets and other works, and a small parcel of needles to give to the Savages, telling me that he would have given me a greater quantity if it had been in his power.

The reader may judge by these particulars of the rest of my equipage for so great an undertaking; however, relying myself on the Providence of God, I took my leave of M. la Salle and embraced all our men, receiving the blessing of Father Gabriel who told me several things to inspire me with courage; concluding his exhortation by these words of the Scripture, *Viriliter age, & confortetur Cor tuum*. M. la Salle set out a few days after for Canada, with three men, without any provisions but what they killed in their journey, during which they suffered very much by reason of the snow, hunger and cold weather.²

The Author sets out from Fort Crevecoeur to continue his voyage.

Whosoever will consider the dangers to which I was going to expose myself in an unknown country, where no European had traveled before, and amongst some Savages whose language I did not understand, will not blame the reluctancy I expressed against that voyage: I had such an idea of it, that neither the fair words or threats of M. la Salle would have been able to engage me to venture my life so rashly, had I not felt within myself a secret but strong assurance, if I may use that word, that God would help and prosper my undertaking.

We set out from Fort Crevecoeur on the 29th, of February 1680, and as we fell down the river, we met with several companies of Savages who returned to their habitations with their pirogues or wooden canoes loaded with the bulls they had killed: they would fain persuade us to return with them, and the two men who were with me were willing to follow their advice; telling me that M. la Salle had as good to have murdered us: But I opposed their design, and told them that the rest of our men would stop them as they should come from the Fort if they offered to return, and so we continued our voyage. They confessed to me the next day that they had resolved to leave me with the Savages and make their escape with the canoe and commodities, thinking that there was no sin in that, since M. la Salle was indebted to them in a great deal more than their value, and that I had been very safe. This was the first discouragement I met with, and the forerunner of a great many others.

The River of the Illinois is very near as deep and broad as the Meuse and Sambre before Namur; but we found some places where

² Thwaites: *A New Discovery of a Large Country in America*, pp. 174-181.

it is about a quarter of a league broad. The banks of the river are not even, but interrupted with hills disposed almost at an equal distance and covered with fine trees. The Valley between them is a marshy ground which is overflowed after great rains, especially in the Autumn and Spring. We had the curiosity to go up one of those hills, from whence we discovered vast meadows with forests such as we had seen before we arrived at the village of the Illinois. The river flows so softly that the current is hardly perceptible except when it swells: But it will carry at all times great barques for above 100 leagues; that is, from the said village to its mouth. It runs directly to the South-west. On the 7th, of March we met, within two leagues from the River Mississippi, a nation of the Savages called Tamaroa or Maroa consisting of about 200 families. They designed to bring us along with them to their village, which lies to the West of Mississippi about seven leagues from the mouth of the river of the Illinois; but my men followed my advice and would not stop, in hopes to exchange their commodities with more advantage in a more remote place. Our resolution was very good; for I don't question but they would have robbed us; for seeing we had some arms, they thought we were going to carry them to their enemies. They pursued us in their pyrogues or wooden canoes, but ours being made of bark of birch-trees, and consequently ten times lighter than theirs, and better framed, we laughed at their endeavors and got clear of them. They had sent a party of their warriors to lie in ambuscade on a neck of land advancing into the river, where they thought we should pass that evening or the next morning, but having discovered some smoke on that point, we spoiled their design, and therefore crossed the river and landed in a small island near the other side, where we lay all night, leaving our canoe in the water under the guard of a little dog, who doubtless would have awakened us if anybody had offered to come near him, as we expected the Savages might attempt it, swimming over in the night, but nobody came to disturb us. Having thus avoided those Savages, we came to the mouth of the river of the Illinois, distant from their great village about 100 leagues, and 50 from Fort Crevecoeur. It falls into the Mississippi between 35 and 36 degrees of latitude, and within 120 or 130 leagues from the Gulf of Mexico, according to our conjecture, without including the turnings and windings of the Mississippi from thence to the sea.

The angle between the two rivers on the South side is a steep rock of forty feet high, and flat on the top, and consequently a fit place to build a fort; and on the other side of the river, the ground appears blackish, from whence I judge that it would prove fertile and afford two crops every year for the subsistence of a colony. The soil looks as if it had been already manured.

The ice which came down from the source of the Mississippi stopped us in that place till the 12th, of March, for we were afraid of our canoe. But when we saw the danger over, we continued our course, sounding the river to know whether it was navigable. There are three small islands over against the mouth of the river of the Illinois, which stop the trees and pieces of timber that come down

the river, which by succession of time has formed some banks: But the canals are deep enough for the greatest barques, and I judge that in the driest summer there is water enough for flat-bottom boats.

The Mississippi runs to the South-South-West, between two ridges of mountains which follow the great windings of the river. They are near the banks at the mouth of the river of the Illinois, and are not very high; but in other places they are some leagues distant; and the meadows between the river and the foot of those hills are covered with an infinite number of wild bulls. The country beyond those hills is so fine and pleasant that according to the account I have had, one might justly call it a *delight of America*.

The Mississippi is in some places a league broad and half a league where it is narrowest. The rapidity in its current is somewhat abated by a great number of islands covered with fine trees interlaced with vines. It received but two rivers from the west side, one whereof is called Otontenta, and the other discharges itself into it near the Fall of St. Anthony of Padoua, as we shall observe hereafter, but so many others run into the Mississippi from the North that it swells very much toward its mouth.³

LA SALLE'S FURTHER EFFORTS

We left La Salle loaded with misfortunes at Fort Frontenac. A stout heart even would quail under such burdens, but La Salle was invincible. He had at least the necessary materials for his vessel on the Illinois and the necessary tools and supplies for his Illinois party. His chief concern was to get them to their destination. This difficulty, too, was overcome on the 10th of August, 1680, when he set out for the Illinois again accompanied by another faithful lieutenant, Francois Dauphine de la Forest, a surgeon, ship carpenters, joiners, masons, soldiers, voyageurs and laborers, twenty-five men in all.

Leaving a portion of his men with La Forest, he pushed on with the others and reached the ruined fort at St. Joseph (in Indiana) on November 4th. He ascended the St. Joseph River, crossed the portage to the Kankakee and reached the Illinois. Parkman calls attention to a novel experience of the intrepid explorer as he passed down the Illinois:

“Far and near,” says Parkman, “the prairie was alive with buffalo; now like black specks dotting the distant swells; now trampling by in ponderous columns or filing in long lines morning, noon and night to drink at the river—wading, plunging and snorting in the water; climbing the muddy shores and staring with wild eyes at the passing canoes.”⁴

³ Thwaites: *A New Discovery of a Large Country in America*, pp. 182-186.

⁴ Parkman: *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, p. 151.

His party shot several of the big cattle and other game during a hunt which they organized and pressed on. They passed through the great Kaskaskia village and found it deserted and in ruins. They also found abundant and ghastly evidence of the slaughter which the Iroquois had committed. With fainting hearts they passed on down the Illinois which they now found a valley of horrors. On one side of the river they saw successive abandoned camps of the Iroquois and on the other of the Illinois, evidences of the flight of the Illinois and the pursuit of the Iroquois. They passed Peoria Lake and reached Fort Crevecoeur which they found demolished as they expected from previously obtained information. The vessel on the dock was entire, but the Iroquois had drawn out the nails and spikes which held it together. On one of the planks was written in French, no doubt by one of the deserters, "*nous sommes tous sauvages: ce 15-1680*," meaning we are all savages.

As they drew near the mouth of the stream (the Illinois River) they saw a meadow on their right, and on its farthest verge several human figures erect yet motionless. They landed and cautiously examined the place. The long grass was trampled down and all around were strewn the relics of the hideous orgies which formed the ordinary sequels of an Iroquois victory. The figures they had seen were the half consumed bodies of women still bound to the stakes where they had been tortured. Other sights there were too revolting for record. All the remains were those of women and children, the men it seemed had fled and left them to their fate.⁵

Again entering their canoes they descended to the mouth of the river, and La Salle's eyes for the first time rested upon the Mississippi. This great waterway had been the subject of his dreams and ambitious for years, but there was no time for reflection. He must use every effort to find Tonti and his party. Stripping the bark from a great tree overhanging the river he made it more conspicuous and fastened to it a board with a drawing of his party and a peace pipe for the information of the Indians and for Tonti's information should he happen that way, a letter stating that he had been at that point and had returned up the river.

Retracing their course in feverish anxiety for the object of their search—Tonti and his men—the great explorer was not so engrossed but that he was able to note coolly and record his observations of a great comet that caused much excitement in civilized centers of the world.

⁵ Parkman: *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great Northwest*, p. 197.

By the 6th of January, 1681, La Salle's little party reached the junction of the Kankakee and Illinois Rivers and instead of branching off into the Kankakee the stream on which they came, they pressed up the Illinois and soon discovered a rude cabin in which they found evidences as they believed of the recent presence of Tonti and his companions. Cheered by their discovery, they hurried on overland towards the St. Joseph, and after a very difficult tramp, reached Fort Miami where La Forest and the men left with him welcomed them.

Here La Salle spent the winter, but not idly. His energies were devoted to establishing good relations with the various tribes of Indians and in much other important work. He never lost sight of his purpose to explore the Mississippi to the sea, and with the Spring began active preparations for a continuance of this enterprise.

"To this end," says his biographer, "he must return to Canada, appease his creditors and collect his scattered resources." Near the end of May he set out from Fort Miami and reached Michilimackinac after an easy voyage. Here at last he found Tonti and Father Membre who had lately arrived from Green Bay. As might be expected, the meeting was a joyful one—each had for the other a story of disaster. Tonti in his succinct manner only says: "He (La Salle) was very glad to see us again, and notwithstanding all reverses, we made new preparations to continue the exploration which he had undertaken."

Without delay, La Salle, Tonti and Father Membre embarked together for Fort Frontenac, paddling their canoes a thousand miles, and reached their destination safely.

Again was La Salle confronted with his misfortunes; harrassed by his creditors and forced to beg additional help, his position was extremely difficult. So loyal was Count Frontenac, however, that through his assistance and that of his secretary, Barrois, an able business man, and the help of a wealthy business relative, he satisfied his creditors and secured sufficient additional means to undertake another journey.

After making his will in favor of a cousin, Francois Plet, to whom he was greatly indebted, he gathered a new force and set forth once more.

Writing to a friend in France, he expressed the hope that this journey would "turn out well: for I have M. de Tonti, who is full of zeal; thirty Frenchmen, all good men without reckoning such as I cannot trust; and more than a hundred Indians, some of the Shaw-

noes and others from New England, all of whom know how to use guns.”

As the party proceeded, others were added and there were some desertions, so that the expedition finally included fifty-four persons. In the dead of winter, the last days of December, they reached the Chicago River. There they made sledges upon which they placed their canoes, the baggage and a disabled Frenchman, and dragged them from the Chicago to the northern branch of the Illinois River and proceeded down its frozen course. It was not until they passed Lake Peoria that they found open waters.

For this trip through Illinois, Tonti's Memoir is interesting.

Tonti's letter describes the remainder of the journey, but the item of greatest interest concerns the journey's end and the ceremony of taking possession of the country in the name of the King of France.

TAKING POSSESSION IN THE NAME OF FRANCE

This ceremony of taking possession was a most interesting proceeding. Once before on June 14, 1671, at the Sault Ste. Marie, in territory now lying within the boundaries of the United States, had the standard of France and the Cross been raised and possession of the country claimed in the name of the King. These new discoveries, however, justified a further ceremony which La Salle had elaborately carried out.

From a document in the Department of Marines Paris appears the following:

“A column was erected, and the arms of France were affixed with this inscription:

‘Louis Le Grand
Rio De France Et Navarre, Regne;
Le Neuvieme Avrip.’ 1682”

The following ceremonies were then performed, viz.: “The whole party, under arms, chanted the *Te Deum*, the *Exaudi*, the *Domine Salvum fac Regem*; and then after a salute of firearms, and cries of *Vive le roi*, the column was erected by M. de la Salle, who, standing near it, said with a loud voice in French, ‘In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious prince, Louis the Great, by the grace of God king of France and Navarre, fourteenth of that name, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two, I, in virtue of the commission of his majesty, which I hold in my hand, and which may be seen by all whom it may concern, have taken, and do now take, in the name of his majesty, and of his suc-

cessors to the crown, possession of this country of Louisiana, the seas, harbors, ports, bays, adjacent straits, and all the nations, peoples, cities, town, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries, streams, and rivers comprised in the extent of said Louisiana, from the mouth of the great River St. Louis, on the eastern side, otherwise called Ohio, Alighin, Sipore, or Chuckagona, and this with the consent of the Chouanons, Chickachas, and other people dwelling therein, with whom we have made alliance; as also along the River Colbert, or Mississippi, and rivers which discharge themselves therein, from its source beyond the country of the Kious or Nadouessious, and this with their consent, and with the consent of the Motantees, Illinois, Mesigameas, Coroas, and Natchez, which are the most considerable nations dwelling therein, with whom we also have made alliance, either by ourselves, or by others in our behalf, as far as its mouth at the Sea or Gulf of Mexico, about the twenty-seventh degree of the elevation of the North Pole, and also to the mouth of the River of Palms; upon the assurance which we have received from all these nations, that we are the first Europeans who have descended or ascended the said River Colbert, hereby protesting against all those who may in future undertake to invade any or all of these countries, people, or lands above described, to the prejudice of the right of his majesty, acquired by the consent of the nations herein named. Of which, and of all that can be ceded, I hereby take to witness those who hear me, and demand the act of the notary as required by law.'

"To which the whole assembly responded with shouts of *Vive le roi*, and with salutes of firearms. Moreover, the *Sieur de la Salle* caused to be buried at the foot of the tree to which the cross was attached, a leaden plate with the arms of France, and the following Latin inscription:

Ludovicum Magnus Regnat,
Nono Aprilis, CI I C LXXXII.

"*Robertus Cavalier, CVM Domino De Tonti, Legato, R. P. Zenobia Membre, Recollecto, Et. Viginti, Callis, Primis Hoc Flvmen, Inde AB Illineorvm Pago Enavigavit, Ejvsqve Ostivm Fecit Pervivm, Nono Aprilis, Anno CI I C LXXXII.*"

The whole ceremony was witnessed by attendants in a proces verbal, which concludes in the following words, viz.:

"After which the *Sieur de la Salle* said, that his majesty as eldest son of the Church, would annex no country to his crown without making it his chief care to establish the Christian religion therein, and that its symbol must now be planted; which was accordingly done at once by erecting a cross, before which the *Vexilla* and the *Domine Salvum fac Regem* were sung. Whereupon the ceremony was concluded with cries of *Vive le roi*.

Of all and every of the above, the said *Sieur de la Salle* having required of us an instrument, we have delivered to him the same,

signified by us, and by the undersigned witnesses, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two.

LA METAIRE, Notary."

De La Salle.

Pierre You.

P. Zenobe, Recollect Missionary.

Gilles Meuoret.

Henry De Tonti.

Jean Michel, Surgeon.

Francois De Boisrondet.

Jean Mas.

Jean Bourdon.

Jean Dulignon.

Sieur d'Autray.

Nicholas De La Salle."⁶

Jacques Cauchois.

The Te Deum with which the song service was opened is the renowned triumphal hymn of the Church, sung on all occasions of rejoicing for merited success. There is a tradition that it was composed "spontaneously and sung alternately" by Saints Ambrosius and Augustine on the night of St. Augustine's baptism A. D. 378, and while the tradition is rejected by many scholars, no other authority has been suggested, and the hymn has been set down in Catholic hymnals and rubrics at least as early as A. D. 502.⁷

The following is a translation found in the hymnals:

The Domine Salvum Fac Regem or prayer for the king or ruler is found in a Latin prayer-book as follows:

Versicle. Domine, salvum fac regem nostrum. (Lord, save our king.)

Response. Et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te. (And hear us on the day which we have called upon thee.)

Versicle. Domine, exaudi orationem meam. (Lord, hear my prayer.)

Response. Et clamor meus ad te veniat. (And let my outcry reach thee.)

Versicle. Dominus vobiscum.

Response. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus.

Let us Pray!

Pateant aures misericordiae tuae, Domine, precibus supplicantium; et, ut petentibus desiderata concedas, fac eos, quae tibi sunt placita postulare. Per Dominum nostrum J. C. filium tuum, qui tecum vicit, etc.

Let the ears of thy mercy, O Lord, be open to the prayers of the suppliants and as thou grantest what they wish, make them petition the things that are pleasing to thee through Jesus Christ, thy Son, who with thee . . . etc.

It was chanted at the conclusion of the Mass on solemn occasions, and perhaps the prayer varied on various occasions.⁸

⁶ Sparks' *Life of La Salle*, pp. 199, 200.

⁷ Catholic Encyclopedia, xvi. 468.

⁸ *Coelestes Palmetum* (1895), p. 739. Published by H. Dessain of Mechlin.

TE DEUM

O God, we praise Thee as true God,
And we confess Thee Lord;
Thee, the Eternal Father, who
Art everywhere adored:
All Angels, Cherubs, Heavenly Powers,
And Seraphim, proclaim,
With ceaseless canticles of praise,
Thy ever-glorious Name.
O Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord,
And God of Hosts, they cry;
The glory of Thy Majesty
Fills earth and Heaven high.
The glorious Apostles' Choir,
The numerous Prophets too,
And white-robed Martyrs' armies, all
Declare Thy praises due.
Throughout the universal world,
The Holy Church doth sing
Thy Holy Name, and doth confess
Thee for her Lord and King:
Father of Majesty immense,
Thy true and Only Son
Ever revered, and Only Ghost,
Thrice Blessed Three in One.
Christ Jesus, Thou of glory art
The rightful King and Lord;
And Thou art the Father born,
Eternal Son and Word.
Thou, when on earth, to save mankind,
Man's nature Thou wouldst take,
Thy dwelling in the Virgin's womb
Didst not disdain to make.
When Thou the cruel darts of death
Hadst bravely overcome,
Thou Heaven to believers all
Didst open for their home.
Thou, seated at Thy Father's right,
In glory e'er dost reign,
We all believe that, as our Judge,
Thou art to come again;
We pray Thee, then, Thy servants' help,
Whom, on Thy Holy Rood,
Thou deignedst to redeem and save,
With Thy most Precious Blood:
And grant to them the precious grace,
That they may numbered be,
In glory, with Thy Saints above,
Through all Eternity.

Ah! save Thy people, dearest Lord,
 And make them ever live,
 And ever to Thy heritage
 Thy special Blessing give.
 Vouchsafe to rule and govern them
 Thyself Eternally,
 And to exalt them, and to raise
 Them up on high to Thee.
 Each coming day, O Lord, to Thee
 We hymns of blessing raise,
 And praise and glorify Thy Name,
 Through everlasting days.
 To keep ourselves from sin this day
 The grace on us bestow,
 And always, dearest Lord, to us
 Thy loving mercy show.
 Show mercy to us, Lord, as we
 Have put our trust in Thee,
 I've hoped in Thee, O Lord, then let
 Me ne'er confounded be. Amen.

The Exaudiat sung on this and similar occasions is the XIX Psalm of David and reads as follows:

PSALM XIX

EXAUDIAT TE DOMINUS. A PRAYER FOR THE KING.

1. *Unto the end. A psalm for David.*
2. *May the Lord hear thee in the day of tribulation: may the name of the God of Jacob protect thee.*
3. *May he send thee help from the sanctuary: and defend thee out of Sion.*
4. *May he be mindful of all thy sacrifices: and may thy whole burnt-offering be made fat.*
5. *May he give thee according to thy own heart: and confirm all thy counsels.*
6. *We will rejoice in thy salvation; and in the name of our God we shall be exalted.*
7. *The Lord fulfil all thy petitions: now have I known that the Lord hath saved his anointed.*
He will hear from his holy heaven: the salvation of his right hand is in powers.
8. *Some trust in chariots, and some in horses: but we will call upon the name of the Lord our God.*
9. *They are bound, and have fallen; but we are risen, and are set upright.*
O Lord, save the king: and hear us in the day that we shall call upon thee.

LA SALLE THE FORT BUILDER

During his several voyages La Salle constructed a number of forts, with a view to having a chain of communication and defence from Quebec to Louisiana. It should be said here that La Salle made another voyage, starting this time from France and sailing down the Atlantic and through the Gulf of Mexico. That his navigators missed the mouth of the Mississippi and his ship was stranded on the coast of Texas, where a settlement was begun, which, after much hardship, perished. It was while endeavoring to plant this settlement that La Salle, in making further explorations, was murdered by members of his own party. The story of this journey, as best told by Parkman, is one of the saddest narratives of American history.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

Chicago, Illinois.

COLONEL FRANCIS VIGO AND GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

Of George Rogers Clark's conquest of the Illinois country a recent writer says, "A more daring offensive is hardly to be found in history."¹ The credit for conceiving this conquest of the Northwest Territory with a mere handful of pioneers belongs to Clark; but the credit for accomplishing it is to be shared equally with Francis Vigo, an American patriot of Italian descent and Spanish citizenship. Vigo risked his life and gave his fortune and years of service to a country which proved forgetful and ungrateful. Rightly is he grouped with Clark and Gibault as one who suffered the "penalty of patriotism"²—accused, neglected, forgotten, left to die in poverty. Clark, keen judge of men, wrote of him: "A man who has always occupied a distinguished place in my affection and esteem—an affection, the result not so much of being associates in the placid stream of tranquility and the benign sunshine of peace, as companions amidst the din of war and those struggles when the indefatigable exertion of every muscle and nerve was demanded."³ Such this Vigo, a Catholic gentleman and patriot, whom the historians have woefully neglected.

Francis Vigo was born in Mondovi, Sardinia, in the year 1747, and at an early age enlisted in a Spanish regiment which soon sailed for New Orleans. Evidently he left the army shortly after, for his name appears in St. Louis records in 1770,⁴ when he was but twenty-three years old. Vigo was attracted to St. Louis and the Illinois country by the lucrative fur-trade, and became a partner in the firm of Vigo and Gosti of St. Louis.⁵ He was also, it seems, a partner of the Spanish Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana, Don Fernando de Leyba,⁶ a connection which was later to prove quite valuable for George Rogers Clark, who obtained considerable aid from de Leyba on the strength of Vigo's introduction.

¹ Temple Bodley in *George Rogers Clark: His Life and Public Services*. (Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1926).

² Joseph J. Thompson, in *Journal of Illinois State Historical Society*, vol. 9.

³ Clark to Vigo, August 1, 1811. Vigo Mss. X, 102, in Virginia State Library.

⁴ Houck, *History of Missouri*, p. 51-52. (Chicago, 1908)

⁵ Consul Butterfield, *History of G. R. Clark's Conquest of the Illinois*, p. 298. (Columbus, Ohio, 1904).

⁶ Draper Collection, Clark Mss. 8, p. 33.

Vigo, as merchant, had branch trading-posts in the Illinois towns Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes; but we do not hear of him in connection with Clark until after the retaking of Vincennes by Hamilton (Dec. 17, 1778). Clark, with his little band of 170 backwoodsmen, had in July, 1778, captured Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, St. Philip's, and Cahokia without bloodshed, and by the help of Father Gibault and Dr. Laffont, had secured possession of Vincennes.⁷ Clark was unable, however, to spare a garrison for Vincennes, except four or five Americans under Captain Helm, who organized the Creoles of Vincennes into militia. The Creoles, however, proved unreliable, and when Hamilton with his force of 800 British and Indians fell upon Vincennes in December (1778), he recaptured the town practically without opposition, and again hoisted the British flag.

Had Hamilton continued his campaign then to Kaskaskia and Cahokia, in all probability Clark and his forces would have been overcome and the whole of the Illinois country lost to the American cause. But Hamilton elected to winter at Vincennes and gather a large army in the spring to capture and destroy the entire American force in the Illinois, and eventually drive the Americans from Kentucky and back across the Alleghanies. Clark's situation was desperate; he must choose one of the three alternatives; either abandon the country to Hamilton and return to Kentucky (which would mean failure of his whole project and be fatal to the American cause in the West); or await the overwhelming British force to arrive in the spring and probably be butchered by Hamilton and his Indian allies; or make a surprise attack on Hamilton in the depth of winter at Vincennes. At this juncture, with the French inhabitants of the Illinois villages thoroughly discouraged and Clark in a quandary, arrived Vigo, to do his first great service to the American cause.

Early in December, Captain Helm, commander at Vincennes, had written Clark about his need for supplies and equipment. Clark chose the merchant Vigo to go to Vincennes and see about providing the necessary articles, as Vigo had a trading store there and was on the best of terms with the Creoles. Vigo set out on the eighteenth of December (1778), all unconscious of the fact that the British had recaptured Vincennes on the previous day. When he neared Vincennes⁸ he was taken into custody by some of Hamilton's Indian allies, stripped of his clothes, money, and horse, and brought before Hamilton as prisoner. Hamilton soon found, however, that instead

⁷Clark's *Memoir*, and his *Letter to Mason*.

⁸Six miles from Vincennes, on the Embarrass River.

of a prisoner, he had a hornet on his hands. Vigo was a Spanish citizen, and no legal prisoner. Besides, he was of such high standing with the French of Vincennes (whom Hamilton wished to propitiate) that they daily made intercession for him at the fort, and one author says that even Father Gibault, that power with the people, pleaded for Vigo.⁹ Vigo meanwhile, as a privileged prisoner, kept his eyes and ears open, gathering all the information he could for the plan that was in his heart. After some days Hamilton decided to allow him to go free, demanding first that he sign a promise not to do anything prejudicial to the British cause during the period of the war. This the patriotic Vigo flatly refused to do; so Hamilton had to be content with a promise that he would do nothing prejudicial to the British *on his way home* to St. Louis. The wily Vigo made that promise and hurried off to St. Louis, but had hardly touched foot there when he hastened to Clark at Kaskaskia with the news. He arrived there on January twenty-ninth (1779), giving him, as Clark relates, "every information that we could wish for, as he had good opportunity and had taken great pains to inform himself with a design to give intelligence."¹⁰ The information was mainly concerning the size of Hamilton's force, the dispersion of his Indian allies until the spring, and the unpreparedness for an attack during these winter days.

With this, the first reliable and accurate information Clark had about the capture of Vincennes, his indecision was immediately dispelled. Hastily he gathered his recruits from Cahokia, and, using these skilfully, aroused the mercurial Creoles of Kaskaskia from discouragement to a high pitch of enthusiasm for the campaign. A large bateau was fitted out, loaded with powder, several cannon, and forty-six men and dispatched in charge of Captain John Rogers to descend the Mississippi River, push up the Ohio and the Wabash to where they would meet Clark's main force proceeding overland. Vigo and several other merchants in Vincennes loaned Clark money

⁹ This however seems impossible. Father Gibault was at Kaskaskia at the time, and was sent to Spanish territory by Clark. Besides, Hamilton was so incensed at Gibault for aiding the American cause that he would certainly have taken him into custody. On December eighteenth, the day after the capture of Vincennes, he wrote to the Governor at Detroit, "Could I catch the priest, Mr. Gibault, who has lately blown the trumpet of rebellion for the Americans, I should send him down unhurt to your Excellency, to get the reward of his zeal. (Ill. His. Coll. I, 234). Father Gibault was certainly at Kaskaskia on February fifth, for he gave a blessing to the troops leaving for Vincennes.

¹⁰ Illinois Historical Collection I, 237 seq.

and supplies, and with about 130 men, mostly "Long Knives," as the Indians called the rangy Kentucky backwoodsmen, Clark started (February 5, 1779) on one of the most daring and heroic marches of American history. Throughout eighteen days, in the depth of winter, the little army marched through the flooded lowlands between Kaskaskia and Vincennes, often marching with the icy water up to their waists or higher. The last six days and nights were spent almost entirely in the water, and well nigh without provisions.¹¹ But Vincennes was surprised and fell into Clark's hands, and the English flag was hauled down, never again to fly over Illinois territory.

Thus dramatically, through the information leading to this remarkable victory, Vigo's services to America came into the limelight. Then began for Vigo a life of service to his adopted country, and for America a shameful page of ingratitude. Virginia, heedless of the needs of her little western army,¹² furnished scanty supplies and money, and for some years next to nothing. It was only through the personal sacrifice of Clark and his officers, and of Vigo and a few other patriotic merchants that we were able to retain possession of this entire Northwest Territory, a possession so valuable when the Treaty of Paris was to be arranged. Whatever little financial aid Virginia did send out was in Continental currency, paper money, which tended to depreciate more and more. If it would become worthless in the West, as it had in the East, Clark would have no way of supplying his army or holding it together. Vigo, at tremendous personal sacrifice, upheld the value of the paper money by redeeming and offering to redeem it at face value for anyone demanding it. Vigo himself advanced more than \$20,000 to Clark for the support of the troops,¹³ risked his life, and lost clothing, horses, and personal belongings in the service of his adopted country; and the reward of his services was ingratitude. His claims on Virginia were ignored; he gave his whole life to the service of Virginia, the Northwest Territory, and finally Indiana, and yet was allowed to die uncompensated, poor, although the State owed him so much, not

¹¹ Clark's Memoir, and Captain Bowman's Journal. Quoted by English, *Conquest of the N. W. Territory*, I, 287 seq.

¹² It should be remembered that the Illinois country still belonged to Virginia, and it was as a citizen of Virginia, and for Virginia that Clark was leading his army, however great his own foresight of the benefits to accrue to the whole country from the possession of this territory.

¹³ Cf. for example, *Illinois Hist. Coll.*, vol. 19, p. 274: Draft of Clark on Vigo for \$8,716.40 On page 275, same for \$1,452.00.

only for his services in her regard but for actual money and goods advanced. Old John Law, the historian of the Northwest Territory, says that it is to Clark and Vigo that the United States are more indebted for the accession of the old Northwest than to any other man.

After the capture of Vincennes, Vigo did not lapse into the state of a plain merchant and financial agent, but as a true public-spirited citizen, gave his services unsparingly to help the State and its government. He is constantly mentioned in letters as helping this or that military officer as messenger between posts; in 1792 he is even mentioned as carrying a letter from Bishop Carroll to Father Gibault at Vincennes;¹⁴ in another, from Major Hamtramck at Detroit to the commandant at Vincennes.¹⁵ Vigo himself was a militia officer, in 1790 signing himself as "Major Commandant of Militia,"¹⁶ and somewhat later as "Colonel Vigo," by which title he was more generally known later. In 1803 he was elected delegate from Knox County, Indiana, to a general convention of the Northwest Territory called by Governor William Henry Harrison.¹⁷ He was always a trusted friend of Governor Harrison, and was frequently sent on confidential missions by him, particularly to the Indians, by whom he was trusted and loved.¹⁸ In 1806 he was elected a member of the first board of trustees of Vincennes University, and until the end of his life was active in advancing the educational facilities and government of Indiana Territory.

Vigo keenly felt, however, the injustice and neglect of the government towards himself, and after a reversal of fortune in the later years of his life, he was heard to say: "I guess the Lord has forgotten me." He might with justice have more truly added "my government has forgotten me."¹⁹ He died poor, without having been compensated by either Virginia or the United States, so abandoned that even the date of his gravestone was incorrect. He died near Vincennes in 1836, not in 1835 as the gravestone has it; and even the expense of his funeral was not paid until forty years after his death.

Vigo was born a Catholic and seems to have practiced his faith throughout life. He was always intimate with Father Gibault, and

¹⁴ Illinois Hist. Coll., vol. 5, p. 597. Carroll to Gibault.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 506-508, Hamtramck to Harmar. Also 511.

¹⁶ Esarey's *History of Indiana*, p. 137.

¹⁷ Jacob P. Dunn, *Indiana and Indianans*, p. 235.

¹⁸ Draper Mss. YY, 11.

¹⁹ English, p. 271.

from 1810-1821 was one of the trustees of the Catholic Church at Vincennes. Bishop Brute used to visit him during the times of his illness, and just a year before his death he told the Bishop that if his claim before Congress were paid, the Church should have it.²⁰ He died, however, without the consolations of religion, and was buried in the public cemetery. How this occurred is unknown. Probably it was because his will provided that he should be buried as his executors should think proper.

And so ends another chapter on the ingratitude of democracies. Governor Harrison paid the following beautiful tribute to Vigo: "I have been acquainted with Colonel Francis Vigo for thirty-nine years, and during the thirteen years that I was Governor of Indiana I lived in the same town with him and upon terms of the most intimate friendship. I solemnly declare that I believe him utterly incapable of making a misrepresentation of the facts however great may be his interest in the matter, and I am also confident that there are more respectable persons in Indiana who would become the guarantees of his integrity than could be induced to lay under a similar responsibility for any other person. His whole life, as long as his circumstances were prosperous, was spent in acts of kindness and benevolence to individuals, and his public spirit and attachment to the institutions of our country proverbial." ²¹

A man to whom such a tribute could be paid seems worthy of a better fate, both in life and in history.

CECIL H. CHAMBERLAIN, S. J.

Detroit, Michigan.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Virginia State Library, Ill. Papers, X, 95. Quoted by Bodley.

LETTERS OF BISHOP BENEDICT JOSEPH FENWICK OF BOSTON TO BISHOP JOSEPH ROSATI OF ST. LOUIS

This series of sixteen letters here published for the first time from the originals preserved in the archives of Archdiocese of St. Louis, covers a period of ten years in the history of the Catholic Church in New England. They are fine examples of epistolary writing, spontaneous, unaffected and at times, slyly humorous. Their historical value, as sources of recondite information, may not be very great; yet as giving a full and harmonious picture of one of our greatest churchmen, a true apostle, full of faith and zeal and childlike trust in God, they will serve, we hope, a good and high purpose.

Bishop Fenwick of Boston was truly "one of the great bishops of the Church, learned and prudent in the Council, eloquent in the pulpit, energetic and active in his episcopal duties, a father of his clergy and his people."¹ The work he accomplished in his diocese which comprised all of the New England States, was truly wonderful. When he entered upon his episcopal duties in 1825, the entire diocese of Boston had but four churches and only two priests remaining, the Rev. Patrick Byrne of Boston, and the Rev. Dr. Dennis Ryan in the wilds of Maine. Among the numerous converts gained for holy Church by the piety and deep learning of Bishop Fenwick was the great Orestes A. Brownson. It was largely through his brave and magnanimous defense that the rampant and at times murderous spirit of New England puritanism was broken.

Of all these things and more we catch a rapid glance, as we peruse these letters of Bishop Fenwick to one of his confidential friends, the saintly Joseph Rosati. In editing them we have thought proper to give a running commentary on matters not expressed fully or only alluded to. Many things that were quite well known in the writer's day, may have fallen into oblivion. It is the office of an editor to dig them up again and make them presentable. As each letter is independent and complete in itself the elucidations mentioned above may serve to make the context for the various parts of the series.

Boston, April 30, 1830.

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

I received your kind and obliging favor about two weeks ago, and should have answered it immediately, but for the excessively hard duty I had to perform during the Easter term, and which has en-

¹ John Gilmary Shea, *Defenders of Our Faith*, p. 89

grossed my whole time ever since. You may form some idea of our ministerial labors here, when I inform you, that four and sometimes five confessionals have been occupied from seven o'clock until one o'clock A. M., and from three o'clock until nine o'clock P. M. during the space of three weeks. Upwards of two thousand persons were admitted to communion within that space of time. Among these, children under twelve years were not included. These will be prepared for the festival of Pentecost. The Catholic religion is beginning to do well here. The *Jesuit* with all its *asperity* has contributed a good deal to it. Notwithstanding its many faults it has already removed many prejudices from the minds of our good "Yankees" who begin now to look upon Catholic principles in a far more favorable light. One of the main pillars of the Methodist Church has already joined us, a man of high standing in society, and who by his piety and zeal will be a credit to us. We owe his conversion, after God, to the reading of the *Jesuit*. He is now laboring to bring over his wife and his wife's mother and in a few weeks we hope to see the whole of that interesting family united in the family of the *one true Church*. A spirit of inquiry has gone abroad which I think will be the means of gathering many more into the fold.

I fear it will not be easy to borrow the money you require from any of our bankers, upon any security which might be given upon property in Missouri. The distance is too great. They are not sufficiently acquainted with the value of property there to let it out upon a mortgage.

We have begun to issue another paper called the *Expostulator* or *Young Catholic's Guide*. Five numbers have already appeared. It is calculated particularly for the youth of our country and will prove highly instructive and useful to them. I have ordered several to be sent to Mr. Wiggins at St. Louis. I hope they will fall into your hands before you leave it for New Orleans. What you recommended, I have directed to be done. We have already printed one book from the *Jesuit*, viz: *Wardmann's Letters*, which are now for sale very cheap. We are now about forming into a book the *Letters on the Inquisition* which appear also in the *Jesuit* and which are translated from the French of *Compte de Maistre*, with notes and additions. It will form a very neat volume which cannot be too much spread in this country where prejudice runs so strong. We shall publish two books from the *Expostulator* which I am persuaded will greatly please you when you see them. They will consist of the first and the next to the last articles which will regularly appear in that interesting little paper. These are to be our first fruits. I hope you will encourage us to proceed by taking a good number of all that we shall publish. Our Convent does well. It has forty-eight pupils and the school flourishes. Mais Helas! Nous avons grande besoin de Religieuse. Comment les procurer? Voila la difficulte. Mais—patience!

I hope you enjoy good health—take great care of it at New Orleans. Apropos! what is this I hear of the Church there being shut up by order of the Mayor? There is also a report here—indeed

I have read the article in one of our Boston papers, *that a Catholic Priest at New Orleans has been converted to the Methodist Church*. Write me and let me know whether there be any truth in it? If not I shall contradict it in the *Jesuit*. Adieu.

Respectfully,

† BENEDICT, Bp. Bn.

Bishop Fenwick introduces himself to his correspondent first of all as a publisher and journalist. On September 8, 1829, he had begun for the defense of the Faith a weekly paper called *The Jesuit or Catholic Sentinel*, one of the earliest Catholic papers in the United States. It was sometimes accused of asperity. For a short period, as the *Catholic Herald* of January 17, 1833, tells us, it had exchanged its name for the more sounding one of *United States Catholic Intelligencer*, but early in 1833 it had resumed its old name, *The Jesuit*.² Thomas J. O'Flaherty, a physician from Kerry, was raised to the priesthood in 1829. As editor of *The Jesuit* he translated Count Joseph De Maistre's book on the "Spanish Inquisition." It was published in book form with notes and additions. An occasional contributor to the Catholic Press was the Rev. Jeremiah O'Callaghan, whose strict ideas on the subject of usury had involved him with his bishop in Ireland. After preaching in Irish in the Cathedral of Boston in July, 1830, he proceeded to the Vermont missions to which he had been assigned, where he labored most zealously for many years, relieving the monotony of his severe duties in that mountain state with writing books against usury, pew-rents and other points of a similar nature.

Boston, March 17, 1832.

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

By a letter just received from my good friend, Rev. Mr. Van de Velde, I am informed that my last to him was not received. In that letter I communicated to him what the price of printing was in Boston, in answer to your request. I regret that the letter miscarried, as it may have been the cause of delaying the publication of your excellent book on the Ceremonies, so long and so anxiously looked for, and so much wanted.

I have been speaking to a printer who tells me that he will print it, at the following rate:

For setting the type, he demands 30 cents per page, when the page is about 6 inches long and 3 1-2 wide.

For press work, 2 dollars for a thousand copies of 36 pages, that number of pages constituting a form.

Good paper will cost 3 dollars 25 cents per ream.

The binding of such a book in plain sheep will cost 8 dollars per hundred.

² *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, vol. xxix, no. 4, p. 343.

These are the ordinary prices in Boston. It may be done cheaper, but I fear, not well.

I wrote to the Archbishop some time ago, respecting the Book Association as agreed upon in Council. I proposed to him a plan for carrying it into effect, but he seems, by his answer, to be averse to the whole and not at all willing to undertake it. Thus the whole seems to be doomed to be laid aside. I am sorry for it for religion's sake.

My book, the Catholic Repository, will be published toward the end of this year. It will be very large—hence the delay. It will contain 500 pages octavo. I would have published it long ago, but for fear of debt. I am now still waiting for the subscription list to be fixed.

I rejoice to hear of the progress religion is making in your diocese. Great are the exertions of the sectarians against you; but I trust with the blessing of God, you will triumph in spite of them. With us, things go on as fast as can be expected, considering the field I have to labor in. Calvinism has suffered much and can never have again the same influence it once possessed. What I chiefly want is priests—a number of good priests. I have now twenty churches and only thirteen priests and shall build two more this summer. It is some consolation, however, to me to have eight young men who will be ready for Orders next fall. I shall endeavor to build another church in Boston very soon. I only wish it may be half as beautiful as yours in St. Louis.

Adieu—take good care of your health and believe me ever to remain,

Yours sincerely,
† BENEDICT, Bp. Bn.

The Rev. Mr. Van de Velde mentioned in the foregoing letter was a distinguished member of the Society of Jesus, who became successively Professor at the St. Louis College, Vice Provincial of the Missouri Province, President of the St. Louis University, Bishop of Chicago, and Bishop of Natchez. He died of yellow fever, November 13, 1855.

The 36th decree of the First Provincial Council of Baltimore had reference to such a Society for the dissemination of good books, but no further action was taken and no one appointed to carry out the plan. The Holy See had specially desired the establishment of such an Association. The Archbishop of Baltimore at this time was James Whitfield, who had succeeded Marechal on May 25, 1828.

The twenty churches were scattered over the five states of New England, two in Connecticut, two in Rhode Island, seven in Massachusetts, five in Maine, two in New Hampshire and two in Vermont. The majority of the thirteen priests were stationed in Massachusetts. In the following year the diocese numbered twenty-two priests.

Boston, April 24, 1832.

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

I received last night your kind favor and hasten to reply to it. The Book of Ceremonies which you are so kind as to offer, I cheerfully accept and shall take all possible care to have it printed in a neat and correct manner, with all reasonable dispatch. There are two ways of forwarding the copy to me, viz: by the way of New Orleans by vessel, and by the regular letter mail. The first will be long, circuitous and safer of the two; but I think the latter (as few accidents happen) will be safe enough, if you will but take the precaution of having the copy put into as small a compass as possible, then carefully sealed, and afterwards delivered into the hands of the postmaster himself, with a request to have particular care taken of it on the route. I think then there will be but little danger of its arriving safely. This way is so much the more expeditious, and therefore desirable. The expense, it is true, is much greater; but I do not imagine, after all, it would amount to more than four or five dollars, and that would be as nothing in comparison to the advantages and satisfaction of having so useful a book printed as soon as possible. However, I shall leave that to your better judgment.

I have no objection whatever to the removal of the *Catholic Press* to St. Louis: on the contrary, I shall rejoice to see it made the instrument of propagating our holy faith in the Valley of the Mississippi. I have no doubt also but that it will do a great deal more good at St. Louis than at Hartford. In fact the Priest at Hartford has so much to do in missionary duty that he can hardly spare time to attend to more.

I admire very much the plan of your church, a copy of which has been kindly forwarded to me. I think it will be the handsomest church in the United States. I wish I had but the means of putting up a similar one in Boston. How proud I should then be! We shall notwithstanding attempt something this year, poor as we are. I have just bought the entire lot of ground, next to where I live, for a Seminary. It has already a very good house on it, 90 feet long by 26 feet broad, three stories high and capable of lodging fifty students, which has cost me eleven thousand five hundred dollars, two thousand five hundred of which I have paid, and have six years to pay the balance. *You must put in a good word for me with the Society de la Propagation in France, otherwise I know not how I shall be able to extricate myself.* It is well for me that I have so much courage. This enables me still to sleep soundly, spite of this new and great debt. The *Propagation* gave me last year a very small sum, indeed, but I rejoice that my name is still on their book. This is some comfort at least, since it inspires hope. I expect three Sisters of Charity here daily, for whom I have prepared a beautiful house—a palace when compared with mine. They will have 300 female children under their care. Thus we move along, advancing, though not very fast in consequence of our poverty, still we keep moving. I have a thousand

things yet to say to you, but find I am come to the end of my paper. I shall, however, write again soon. In the meantime, I remain, etc.

† BENEDICT, Bp. Bn.

P. S. It is quite certain now that our famous Calvinist *Beecher* is about to leave Boston to try his luck in the Valley of the Mississippi. I hope you will render his time as unpleasant to him there, as we did last winter here. Our lectures have completely broken him up in this quarter.

Bishop Rosati had been requested by Fathers of the Council to compile a Book of Ceremonies, a work for which he was eminently fitted. *The Catholic Press* was the name of a weekly paper published in Hartford, Connecticut, before 1832. In the Letter-Book of Bishop Rosati I found, under date of May 19, 1832, the following entry: "Mr. Taylor leaves Hartford; *Catholic Press* will be published in St. Louis by July 1, 1832. Joseph and Deodat Taylor were converts to the Faith, and men of superior character and ability. If a paper by the name, "The Catholic Press," was really published by either one of the brothers Taylor, we have found no trace of it. Yet, there must have been a Catholic paper in St. Louis about this time, as Father John McMahon on his way to Galena writes to Bishop Rosati on August 27, 1832: "A Dialogue on the Real Presence, which passed between an intelligent passenger and myself on our way hither (i. e. Keokuk), may be somewhat entertaining to some of Mr. Taylor's readers. If you think so, I am determined to lend it to you; you will please hand it to him for insertion." Now what was the name of the Catholic St. Louis paper edited by Mr. Taylor? Most probably it was "The Shepherd of the Valley." It must be remembered, however, that there were two distinct "Shepherds of the Valley," the first being published during the administration of Bishop Rosati and edited by Joseph Taylor, the second in Bishop Kenrick's days, and edited by Robert A. Bakewell."³

"The handsomest church in the United States" is the encomium bestowed by Bishop Fenwick on the Old Cathedral of St. Louis. In its classic simplicity and majestic calm it is still one of the chief attractions of the city; the great monument of its first Bishop's love and undaunted desire.

The Society of the Propagation of the Faith, with headquarters in Lyons and Paris, which with its sister societies of Vienna in Austria and Munich in Bavaria, did so very much for almost all the much-harassed Bishops of our early days, is meant here.

The Roman Congregation of the Propaganda also gave substantial

³ "A Sketch of Catholic Journalism in St. Louis" by Rev. John Rothensteiner.

aid, but not in the measure of the Associations we have mentioned. Bishop Fenwick's allusion to "our famous Calvinist, Beecher," refers to Lyman Beecher, a man of genius like two of his children, Henry Ward and Harriet, but as self-centered and fanatical a man as ever spat venom against the Pope. Furiously assailing the Catholic Church and influencing the public mind, he met a severe setback in the lectures the Bishop delivered during the winter of 1830-1831. The Cathedral was thronged with Protestants, who listened with deep interest to the clear logic and impassioned argument of the Catholic champion. Lyman Beecher withdrew from the field to make forays into less dangerous fields. But he was to return to the final charge which ended in the destruction of the Ursuline convent at Charleston in 1834.⁴

Boston, November 14, 1832.

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

I received your highly esteemed favor the day before yesterday. I need not express to you how delighted I was to hear from you after so long a silence, nor how very anxious your letter has made me for your health. The cholera has already deprived the Province of one of her most efficient Bishops in taking off my late highly esteemed and venerable cousin. I sincerely hope it will not include you among the number of its victims in its ravages through your diocese, for we are not yet in a situation to spare you. May God therefore preserve you yet among us for the good of His religion and of His growing Church, many years. On our part we cannot be too grateful to the Almighty for having been pleased to overlook this diocese in his general visitation. We have had comparatively but few cases in any part of it. In Boston itself we never had more than five per day, and this lasted but two weeks. At present we are entirely free from it.

I am quite rejoiced at the news you have given me of the generous offer of the Propaganda to educate two young men, whomsoever I may send, for the Diocese of Boston. I am aware of the immense advantage it will derive from having subjects who have received their education at the very fountain head and who will afterward be in a condition to impart the same to others on their return, and together with the purest doctrines, a true spirit of piety and religion. But at what age do they admit into the Propaganda? What degree of knowledge do they require previously in the student? Must they be thoroughly acquainted with the Latin? and must they have gone through a course of Philosophy? I will esteem it a great favor to receive information on these several heads, from you, as I am perfectly ignorant of the regulations of that college. There is also another point, which, though last, is not least, so far as it concerns me

⁴ There is a good sketch of Lyman Beecher as well as of his celebrated son and daughter in Constance M. Rourke's *Trumpets of Jubilee*.

in my present state of poverty. I mean the expense of sending them. How much will that expense be? Will the Propaganda add to their liberality by defraying this too? I assure you it will be a great favor conferred if they will include me so far. In the purchase of a site for my Seminary, I have incurred a debt of *nine thousand dollars*, the interest of which I have yearly to pay, at the rate of six per cent. I have great hopes that the good Société de la Propagation in France will aid me in paying off this debt. They were very good to me in their last distribution, and I have every reason to think they will continue to be so, this year also. As soon as I shall have rid myself of this one burden I shall have it more in my power to effect so desirable an object. Please to write to me as soon as possible on these several heads, and I also request the favor that you will not forget to put in a good word for me in your communications to the same society, lest they might forget me in my present necessities.

I have long desired to see the Book of Ceremonies. Has it appeared yet? And when shall we have some copies of it? Many young Priests look forward with great anxiety for its coming out.

I have seen with pleasure the accounts which have been given of your progress at St. Louis. Your new church will beat everything that has yet appeared in the United States. When will it be consecrated?

Please to accept my best wishes for your health and success in all your undertakings. With sentiments of respect and esteem, I remain,

Yours,

† BENEDICT, Bp. Bn.

The Bishop's "late highly esteemed and venerable cousin" is Bishop Edward Fenwick of Cincinnati, a Dominican, the first Bishop of that see, who on a missionary journey to the northern confines of his vast diocese was struck down by the cholera at Sault Ste. Marie, but rallied sufficiently to continue his journey to Arbor Croche and Detroit. The dread disease, however, returned to the attack and the heroic Bishop died on the way home, at Wooster, Ohio, on September 26, 1832. His companion on the fatal journey was the Rev. Augustine Jeanjean, one of the early missionaries brought over from France by Bishop Du Bourg.

Boston, April 5, 1834.

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

I have just received your favor of the 5th ultimo with the enclosed Gregorian chant and directions. I have, you will perceive, delayed not very long in acknowledging the receipt of it; for, I do not wish to lie under the imputation of being lazy, when in fact, I am not so in reality. It is true, I may now and then let a letter lie over in expectation of getting something interesting to communicate, which I may not get after all, and afterwards feel ashamed of the disappointment.

The Book of Ceremonies I am driving on with all the speed imaginable since I received the manuscript. It will be out in June, and I think you will be well pleased with it; because, in fact, it is well done. But, do you know that I am deeply in debt for it, and that the expense has been considerable, all of which I have been obliged to advance. When shall I be able to get it back again? I have no knowledge how many copies each of the Bishops will take. I must write to them and have a definite answer. Would it not be good to begin with you, as I have the pen now in hand? You are undoubtedly aware that I have caused 1,000 copies of the entire book to be printed, besides 500 copies of the first part which I have bound apart for the use of the children, who serve about the altar. These are now ready for delivery. How many copies, therefore, of the entire work will you take for your diocese? And how many copies of the first part, which is bound separately? Another question I may propose, since I am about it (and which to me is a thousand times more important), when will it be convenient for you to pay for them? Now, let me see, if you will not be lazy in answering these questions.

With regard to the Ritual, I fear I shall be obliged to wait for some returns, at least of the sums I have already expended in the present work, before I begin it. The publication of the little Ritual, however, will be but a little affair. It is possible I may proceed with that without much delay.

The publication of the notes of the Gregorian, I think, will give me trouble, as there is no founding of any such notes here. However, I shall at all events be able to get them engraved apart. It may cost a little more; but not matter.

I shall set out in a week or two to consecrate a new church in New Haven, Con't, the stronghold of Calvinism, where their principal college is. We have already commenced a new one here in Boston, which will be an elegant brick one, and which I hope to finish completely by October. We do not build so elegantly as you do, but we shall proceed faster. The new one we are building also this year at Newport will be a credit to the cause. As soon as I shall have finished this one, now commenced in Boston, I shall instantly begin another in another part of the city; for we shall want two to keep pace with our numbers. Best respects to Jean-Jean.

With respect and esteem I remain,

Yr Obt Sert in Xt,

† BENEDICT, Bp. Bn.

The Church in New Haven, Connecticut, consecrated in honor of Christ the Lord, was then in charge of the Rev. James McDermott.⁵

Boston, Sept. 8, 1834.

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

In spite of all our confusion I must inform you that I have shipped on board of a vessel going to New Orleans a box of books, the long

⁵ Catholic Almanac for 1833.

expected Books of Ceremony, directed to the care of the Revd. Antoine Blanc, who is requested by me by letter to send it on to you without delay. Please drop him a line to refresh his memory. You will probably get it the sooner by it. The box contains 100 copies of the larger and 50 copies of the smaller. The price is \$1 for each copy of the larger, and 18 3-4 cents for each copy of the smaller. You will be astonished, when you come to see the book, how I could sell them so cheap.

Our beautiful convent is destroyed by a mob! The Calvinists were jealous of our progress—they could not bear to see Catholics imparting a better female education than they could afford. Hence they were bent upon destroying us a long time past, and our beautiful institution, and took advantage of the favourable disposition of the time, to accomplish their nefarious purpose. But God will punish them at last.

Adieu. I will write you again as soon as I can.

Pray for me.

† BENEDICT, Bp. Bn.

In elucidation of these few trembling words of sorrow and indignation we would give a condensed account of the main facts as taken from John Gilmary Shea's "History of the Catholic Church,"⁶ and from Richard H. Clarke's "Lives of the Deceased Bishops."⁷ The trouble arose from the conduct of a designing girl named Rebecca Reed, who had been received into the Church at Charleston (near Boston), and then, affecting great piety, applied to the Ursuline Nuns and was admitted for a six months' term as a probationer. Before the close of the term she abruptly left the Convent on the 18th day of January, 1832, and began to circulate stories against the ladies who had opened their house to her. Some unscrupulous enemies of the Catholic Church "improved the occasion" by concocting a book full of silly, slanderous stories from the outpourings of her perverted imagination, and published it under the title, "Six Months in a Convent." The book was condemned by the more intelligent people of Boston as a malicious publication but created a furore among the ignorant and vicious.⁸ Whilst the excitement created by this incident and by the furious declamations of Lyman Beecher was gradually abating another unfortunate incident made the fire of hatred flame up anew. One of the Sisters, holding a high position in the institu-

⁶ John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, vol. iii, ch. 3, passim.

⁷ Richard H. Clarke, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States*, vol. I, pp. 13-31.

⁸ The Lady Superior of the Convent in 1835 published, *Answer to Six Months In a Convent*.

tion, being prostrated by the heat and overwork, became delirious and ran from the convent to the house of a neighbor whose daughters had been her pupils. She was prevailed upon to return to the convent, and, under medical treatment, soon recovered her normal condition. She was deeply afflicted on learning what she had done. But the rumor had gone abroad, that the Sister was detained by force. "Down with the Convent! Down with the nuns!" was the infuriated cry of the mob. Meetings were held in the school house at Charlestown to organize the work of destruction. In the dead of night the mob stormed the convent. Barrels of tar and casks of whiskey had been brought along in carts, the one to fire the buildings, the other to cheer on the incendiaries. The blaze drew the firemen of Charlestown to the scene, only to retire and leave the convent to the mercy of the mob. The Sisters and the pupils fled by the light of their former home and found refuge with kindly neighbors. The mob did not even spare the graves of the dead. It seemed altogether incredible that such a heinous act could have been perpetrated and yet, there stood the blackened ruins and more than a hundred witnesses bore testimony to the main facts of the awful tragedy. As the news spread, Catholic laborers employed on the railroads came pouring into Boston, bent on avenging the insult, but Bishop Fenwick sent his clergy to dissuade them from any attempt at retaliation. Justice should have its way, force could only do harm and most harm to his own people. The authorities made some show of prosecuting the offenders. A number of them were arrested, tried and acquitted on the most flimsy pleas. Only one was sentenced to imprisonment for life, but was soon after pardoned.

Thus iniquity prevailed in Boston in this year of grace, 1834; the Boston of today is predominantly Catholic and harbors a Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church.

Boston, February 22, 1835.

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

The bearer (Mr. Dyer) is one of our most respectable Catholics and a convert to our Church. He is a truly worthy and exemplary man. His object in visiting St. Louis is to see whether that city be favorable to his branch of business, the business of an Apothecary, and more so than the City of Boston. If he find upon examination that to be the case, his intention is to remove his family at once and take up his residence in your town where he knows he will enjoy many other privileges connected with religion and the education of his children which he cannot realize here. I recommend him, Rt. Rev. Sir, to your particular kindness and beg that you will introduce him to those in St. Louis who are best calculated to give him the information he desires.

The very Rev. Mr. Blanc had already acquainted me with the loss of the books I intended for you by the sinking of the steamboat which had them on board. This is a serious loss to me; but I shall make another attempt to send you the same number precisely, viz: 100 copies of the large and 50 copies of the small volumes. The first are sold at \$1 per copy and the second at 18 3-4 cents, so that the bill I shall ultimately have against you will amount to \$109.37 1-2 cents. This money you can send me, if perfectly convenient to yourself, by Mr. Dyer, who will return without much delay. If so, you will be the second Bishop who will have paid me. As the matter now stands Bp. Kenrick alone has as yet made a remittance. All the others seem to hang off, waiting probably, for an opportunity. Rev. Mr. Blanc writes me that to prevent delay he would send you some of the books of ceremonies, which I had intended for New Orleans. I shall be glad to know how many copies of his you will have received, that I may supply the deficiency.

I shall say nothing of the state of things here as Mr. Dyer can give you every information on that head. Wishing you every happiness, I remain with great respect,

Yrs. in Xt.,

† BENEDICT, Bp. Bn.

The Rev. Mr. Blanc mentioned above is the excellent prelate who was soon to succeed Bishop Leo Neckere as Bishop and finally become Archbishop of New Orleans. The "Bishop Kenrick" is Francis Patrick of Baltimore.

Boston, May 5, 1836.

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

I had been left almost an entire century without any tidings of you when your last letter reached me a few days ago. I was rejoiced to see by it how well things are getting on in the great valley notwithstanding the great exertions of the Devil and his co-operators to check its progress. Thank God, New Orleans is now well supplied. This will give a new impulse to religion in that quarter; but I am sorry to see its first pastor so soon under the necessity of repairing to Europe for the purpose of obtaining auxiliaries. His absence, I fear, will be greatly felt. However, he undoubtedly knows better than any one the importance of such a journey.

I have directed another box of books to be forwarded to New Orleans for you. I hope this will fare better than the last, and that I shall not be under the necessity of making a third shipment. The printing of this book of ceremonies has proved a bad speculation for me, as only yourself, the good Bishop of New Orleans and Bishop Kenrick have indemnified me as yet; all the other Bps. still hold back, although each of them has had a box of them sent to them, except Bp. Resé. Perhaps the returns will come yet; if not I cannot help it, and must only submit to my fate. The want of an index is to be ascribed solely to my having been absent from Boston, when the printer had finished the manuscript. So that when I came home I

found it already bound and accordingly could only regret what I could not repair.

Religion begins to lift her head again in this diocese. Things are getting along exceedingly well. I see no immediate prospect of rebuilding the convent. Nor would I, so long as present feelings exist, attempt it, even had I the means. However, in all other respects, Catholicity is progressive, and is rapidly gaining ground, both in Boston and out of it. My new church is just completed. It is a splendid building. I shall consecrate it the Sunday within the Octave of the Ascension. My Seminary is also finished and under operation. Another new church in Boston will be completed by the first of next October. So much for Boston itself. Out of Boston I have four new churches under way which I hope to see finished by the fall. So rapid is the increase of Catholics in all parts of the Diocese that I find new congregations rising up where two years ago I little expected anything. Witness Augusta, the capital of Maine. When I passed through it two years ago, it did not number five Catholics, whereas now it contains as many hundreds. I have bought a Unitarian church there, nearly new, for one half of the price for which it was built. This was extremely apropos. But in the midst of all these fair prospects I labor under one disadvantage which, I fear, is common to all my Brothers, that of not having a sufficiency of able and pious clergymen to carry on the work. Had I only these, infinitely more might be accomplished. Patience!

My good nuns are all still at Quebec. It gives me pain to think that three of them are not satisfied there, in consequence of the language of the country which they are unable to learn, and desire very much to be removed. In consequence of their dissatisfaction the good Ladies of the Convent have become equally anxious for their departure. In this state of things I do not know what to do. I have no place for them, and if I had, it would not do to bring them here now, by any means, nor to station them in any part of the diocese—it would be only exposing them to fresh insults. What am I to do? And what would you recommend under such circumstances?

No Co-adjutor yet appointed for New York. I am getting every day more and more uneasy by this delay. The good Bishop there is very old, though in good health as yet. But I entertain great fears it will not last long. As that diocese is my neighbour, I feel much interested in its affairs. It is exceedingly important for religion, that such a diocese should have some one to succeed the present good Bp., who is in every respect well calculated. You at the far west are so much taken up with your own affairs that you don't think of this. Yet, the diocese of New York holds, as it were, the fate of religion in great measure in its hand in this country. Its importance is exceedingly great. Adieu.

Respectfully yours in Xt.,

† BENEDICT, Bp. Bn.

The cause of Bishop Fenwick's rejoicing at the fact that New Orleans was at last well supplied refers to the appointment of An-

thony Blanc as its Bishop. He had been administrator of the diocese since the death of Bishop De Neckere, September 4, 1833, but for a long time refused to accept the burden of the episcopacy. He was consecrated on November 22, 1835, by Bishop Rosati, assisted by Bishop Purcell and Portier. On July 19, 1850, New Orleans was made an archiepiscopal see with Mobile, Natchez, Little Rock and Galveston as suffragans. Archbishop Blanc died June 20, 1860.

As to rebuilding the Convent of the Ursulines, the good Bishop was rather diffident. The blackened ruins on Mount St. Benedict served as a constant reproach to the bigots of Boston. The nuns were in Canada. But in July, 1838, he secured a house for them in Boston, and on August 29th two of the Sisters arrived from Canada. Other Sisters soon arrived. The Bishop appointed Mother Benedict, Superior. School was opened but was not well attended. After a struggle of two years the nuns lost heart and returned to Canada.

The new church just completed was St. Mary's, in Pond Street. It was seriously injured by fire in January, 1839.

The Bishop's uneasiness about a coadjutor to Bishop Dubois of New York was relieved in a most agreeable manner by the appointment in 1837 of the great American prelate, John Hughes.

Convent of the Visitation,

Geo-town, Dist. col.,
June 10, 1836.

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

It will probably surprise you a little to find this letter addressed to you from Georgetown, instead of Boston; but your surprise will cease when I inform you that I am here with the Archbishop upon a very important business. This business, so far as I am concerned in it, is to endeavor to obtain from the mother institution a small colony of nuns to supply the place of the absent Ursulines. I need not tell you how much we are in want of the inmates of such a house, situated as we are now in Boston, where the higher classes of Catholics are obliged either to send their children out of the State for education, or confide them to the care of Protestants to the great danger of their souls. The good mother of this house was upon the point of supplying me with a few of her members, when your letter arrived informing her of the state of things at Kaskaskia and requesting her to allow you an additional number of subjects for that institution. Now, I would beg to remonstrate a little against this, as her granting the supply asked for would prevent her from being able to supply me, which, in the present instance, is certainly more important, as it is a question of a new foundation which, I trust, will be highly favorable to the progress of religion. Surely nine members ought to suffice for you, at least for the present? besides, is it not far more proper that the Visitandines should elect one of themselves at their superior,

than to have recourse to the motherhouse at a time of all others when efficient members are most required either at home in keeping up the reputation of it, or abroad in the formation of a new colony? I do hope, therefore, that you will not be too pressing in this matter. I understand that a new election has taken place among the good religious of Kaskaskia, and that they have chosen Sister Cecilia of this place to be their superior. It certainly would have been more proper, in my mind, had they confined their choice to one of themselves. As it is, I do not think, she (Sister Cecilia) can at all be spared from this house without material injury to it. You must not imagine, however, that in other circumstances and in other times I should be opposed to one community aiding another's when the good of religion, too, requires it; but at present such a measure would materially affect the success of my little enterprise, as I do not conceive it possible that this community could, at present, spare a superior and other efficient members to the establishment of Kaskaskia in addition to those already granted from this house, and at the same time aid me, which I think, more important. I do hope, therefore, you will get your good religious to reconsider the matter and not urge any longer what they have required.

With sentiments of great respect and consideration, I remain,

Yr. Br. in Xt.,

† BENEDICT, Bp. Bn.

P. S. I regret to hear that the good Bishop of New Orleans has embarked from New Orleans instead of New York as he first proposed, as it will deprive me of the possibility of seeing him on his way.

† B., Bp. Bn.

Boston, August 9, 1836.

Rt. Rev. and Dr. Sir:

The bearer, Mrs. Mary Ann Hoper, is about to leave this, with her sister and brother, for St. Louis. I am not personally acquainted with her; but she has been within a few days particularly recommended to me as a worthy and respectable lady, who during her abode in Boston has always manifested a deep interest for the welfare of the orphans under the care of the Sisters of Charity. She has few or no acquaintances in the country to which she is about to repair. Accordingly, I cannot forbear making you acquainted with her, sensible that you will be pleased with the introduction of a person of so benevolent a disposition.

With sentiments of great respect and consideration, I remain,

Yrs. in Xt.,

† BENEDICT, Bp. Bn.

Boston, April 3, 1837.

Rt. Revd. Dr. Sir:

It appears that Mr. Dyer, to whom I formerly gave a letter of introduction to you, has finally concluded to locate in St. Louis, whither he purposes to remove his family as soon as he can make the necessary arrangements. All whom he leaves behind him regret his departure, and no one more than myself; for, he has been very service-

able to us during the building of our new church. I cannot let him depart without recommending him anew to you as a very worthy and upright man and one who will be an acquisition to the Parish of St. Louis.

Respectfully,

† BENEDICT, Bp. Bn.

Boston, November 6, 1837.

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

So, it seems the persecuting spirit that prevails here is driving all our best Catholics to your Missouri! Well be it so. It is a bad wind that does not benefit some one.

The bearer is Mr. Thomas Mooney, the son of our worthy Sexton, whom you may have seen in Boston. He is a prudent, discreet and industrious young man and a good Catholic, a cabinetmaker by trade and a good workman. It will be a pity, that with these qualifications, he will not be able to get along in your city. But I hope that will not be the fact. I am aware you will do everything in your power to promote his temporal as well as spiritual welfare. Every confidence can be reposed in him, and therefore I recommend him to your kind protection. He is a married man, but leaves his wife in the care of his Father till he has realized the means of bringing her on.

Respectfully,

† BENEDICT, Bp. Bn.

Boston, July 31, 1839.

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

Your kind favor came to hand a few days ago. What you announced to me as likely to happen has indeed taken place. The worthy—the excellent Bishop of Vincennes is no more! I had received a letter from him but a few weeks previous to this melancholy event; and little did I think at the time that we should so soon lose him. But he was ripe for heaven and God wished not to delay his reward. It has been announced some time in our public prints, that his Coadjutor, with yours, has been sanctioned by Rome; with what truth I am yet unable to say. But it is very probable the account is correct enough. No doubt by this time you have received the official news. The appointment, at least, for Vincennes, could not have happened more opportunely. I sincerely hope he is one who is every way calculated to carry on the great and good work so auspiciously begun.

It is true the Rev. Constantine Lee has been several years employed in my diocese. He is a man of considerable talents as a preacher and would do well in any mission, if he were only to have a little more prudence in what regards himself. Candor compels me to say that he is unfortunately too apt to indulge in drink. But for this failing he would do well. A good retreat, to begin with, and a solemn promise on his part never to drink anything stronger than water might reclaim him—but nothing short of this can. You are aware, I presume, that he was educated at Rome, and consequently

has enjoyed the superior advantage of having been, at least, well brought up.

The Gregorian music book, which you request me to forward to Mr. Dinnies, is no more. I have in all, but four copies remaining, out of 1,000 which I had sent to the bookbinder. All have been consumed in a fire, which destroyed not only my printed copies but also my plates. Thus have I incurred a loss of about \$600. Am I not very fortunate in my undertakings?

But my Catholic Settlement succeeds beyond my expectations. Not only have Catholics settled on my own land, but have begun already to extend themselves on the State's lands adjacent. It is just as I wished and as I anticipated. We shall soon have a thriving colony of several thousand without any mixture of Protestants. I am now erecting a Seminary and College, which I hope will one day afford an ample supply of native clergymen for the wants of the diocese, in the centre of the township; and have allotted for its support 500 acres of the first rate land, together with the proceeds of a sawmill and gristmill.

All is now peace with us. The Yankees are both tired and ashamed of what they have done, and a little later I do not despair of complete indemnification.

We have now three beautiful churches in Boston all in a line—North, middle, which is the Cathedral, and South—not counting either the church in Charlestown or that in South Boston, and all these churches are crowded to suffocation. I still want one more to contain the Catholics. We have lately had some distinguished converts from the higher classes of society and hope for more.

Adieu and believe me ever to remain,

Yours In Cht.,

† BENEDICT, Bp. Bn.

Bishop Simon William Brute of Vincennes closed his saintly life at Vincennes on June 26, 1839, at the age of sixty years. "Rare piety of life," says Father Garraghan, "and a very exceptional range of learning, secular as well as sacred, were among the traits that lent distinction to the personality of Bishop Brute."⁹ The archives of the Archdiocese and Chancery of St. Louis preserve a considerable body of his correspondence with Bishop Rosati.

Early in 1839 Bishop Rosati had petitioned Rome for a coadjutor with the first choice of Father John Timon, his brother Lazarist, and had obtained his wish. But Father Timon absolutely refused to accept. Later on Peter Richard Kenrick, Vicar General of Philadelphia, received the appointment. The coadjutor for Vincennes, Celestian Rene Lawrence De La Hailandiere, was in Europe at the time of Bishop Brute's death. He was consecrated at Paris by Bishop Forbier Janson, August 18, 1839. Of the unfortunate Constantine

⁹ Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., in *ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW*.

Lee's brief stay in the diocese of St. Louis an account is given in the October, 1920, number of the *ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW*, Vol. III, pp. 139-142.

"One of Bishop Fenwick's plans was to secure a large tract of land and open it to Catholics in hopes of drawing many from the temptations of the cities and enabling them to secure comparative independence as farmers. Maine seemed to him to offer the greatest advantages, and he was on the alert to secure a township for this purpose. He advertised in 1833 for persons willing to take up land, at not more than a dollar and a half an acre. He finally secured township No. 2, Fifth Range, sixty-nine miles from Bangor, and made the attempt at Catholic colonization in July, 1834.¹⁰

Boston, September 13, 1839.

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

This will be handed to your Lordship by S. D. Mackintosh, Esq., former editor of the *Sandwich Island Gazette*. His object in going to St. Louis is to establish a paper; and if he display the ability and conduct it as well as he did the *Gazette* at Honolulu he will deserve the patronage and support of every Catholic in the United States.

Your Lordship may have heard of the Rev. M. Bachelot and other Catholic missionaries, who went out and settled in Oahu, one of the Sandwich Islands,—and how they were persecuted and finally driven away by the Calvinistic missionaries there established. The bearer of this letter, though a Protestant, was the individual who undertook their defence in his paper and ably vindicated their cause at the risk of drawing upon himself the vengeance of these fanaticks, and altho' he did not in the long run succeed in keeping them in the Island, owing to the very great influence which the Calvinists possessed over the minds of the Chiefs, yet, he had inflicted a blow upon them from which it will be difficult for them to recover. For these, his exertions in behalf of oppressed innocence, able and disinterested as they have been, he deserves the gratitude of Catholics wherever they may be found. I therefore flatter myself that he will be welcomed to St. Louis by them in general, and by your Lordship in particular.

Earnestly recommending him to your Lordship's kind protection, I remain, with sentiments of respect and esteem,

Your Lordship's Br. in Xt.,

† BENEDICT, Bp. Bn.

It is a far cry from Bangor, Maine, to Oahu, one of the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands; yet the story of both New England and those far off islands in the Pacific was the same old story of Protestant oppression and Catholic patience and final victory. We quote from the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, "The first Catholic priests arrived at Honolulu on July 9, 1827. They were, the Rev. Alexis Bachelot, Prefect

¹⁰ Cf. Shea, 1. c.

Apostolic, the Rev. Abraham Armand and the Rev. Patrick Short. All these were members of the Society of Picpus. They had been sent by Pope Leo XII. Protestant missionaries had arrived from New England as early as 1820 and had gained the king and chiefs over to their cause. As soon as the priests began to make converts a fierce persecution was raised against the natives who became Catholics. They were ill-treated, imprisoned, tortured, and forced to go to the Protestant Churches, and the priests were banished. Father Bachelot and Short were taken to a solitary spot in lower California. In 1836 the Rev. Robert Walsh, an Irish priest of the same congregation, arrived and remained in the islands in spite of the ill-will of the Protestant party. In 1837 Father Bachelot and Short returned from California, but were obliged to leave again. Father Bachelot died at sea on December 15, 1837. In 1839 the French Government sent a frigate to put an end to the persecution.¹¹

Boston, December 10, 1839.

Rt. Revd. Dr. Sir:

Since my last communication I have concluded to undertake the publication of another book of Sacred Music; and what is more, I have actually commenced it. The first proof sheets will be presented to me tomorrow. The work will be stereotyped; and I intend it shall be one which will be found extensively useful. Never was there a book more wanted, in this country, from Maine to New Orleans; and from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains. The high price paid for imported music will forever operate as an exclusion, or render the circulation of it confined and limited. The choirs of Cathedral churches, such as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and St. Louis may be able to import and find means to pay high prices for sacred music; but our country churches which are spreading in every direction over the land, how are they to procure music? How have they procured it hitherto? A worn out book or a fragment here and a fragment there, is all that village and country choirs have ever been able to possess. Nevertheless how important it is that our churches should have good music? how important that our youth should be trained to sing the Praises of God! And how can they be ever trained without books? and how can they procure books unless they be sold cheap? I have, therefore, at my own risk, undertaken to supply this deficiency, at least, in my own diocese; and am about to publish a beautiful volume of Sacred Music, of the size of 7 inches by 10, and which shall contain as many pages as will be found necessary to embody the whole service of the Church, both in the forenoon and afternoon. And do you imagine that such a book will be found useful in every diocese? I intend to distribute the pieces in it thus, dividing the work into two parts:

¹¹ Cf. Catholic Encyclopedia, article "Sandwich Islands."

The first part shall contain four litanies, the Asperges and the Vidi Aquam in Gregorian, and another Asperges in Music; three Masses, viz: two in music and one in Gregorian; also, the service for the dead. The Psalms for the Sunday and all the festivals of the year, with two modes of singing them, the one ordinary and the other solemn; the hymns for all the Sundays and festivals, also in Gregorian, the same also in English Music, the Borate in Gregorian; the Te deum, Parce Domine, Lauda Sion, all in Gregorian; the anthems of the B. V. Salve Regina, Ave Regina, Almo Redemp. and Regina Coeli, also in Gregorian, as well as in Music. The Tantum Ergo in various ways, the Lamentations—Gloria Laus et Honor, Popule meus quid feci tibi, etc., Agios, o Theos, etc., all in Gregorian. I say nothing of Stabat Mater—Vexilla Regis, Sacris Solemnis, etc., etc., all of which will be in Gregorian. When I say Gregorian I mean Gregorian Music transposed from the 4 line to the 5 line music to make it intelligible to the organists of this country. All this music will be arranged for the organ accompaniment with soprano and tenor.

The second part will contain an infinite variety of Hymns, Canticles, Motets, and all beautifully arranged in several parts, set to various tunes by the first masters. The whole work will not be too thick to be bound together; but the two parts can be sold separately, if desired. The first part will, in fact, contain all that is essential in choirs; but for the sake of variety of aims, and a more beautiful arrangement the two should go together.

Now, what do you think of this? Will you help me in the undertaking by subscribing largely? Surely your churches will want a good many copies. But, the price, you will ask. It is probable that the whole work will not, in the two parts, exceed 200 pages; that is allowing 100 pages for each part. Would one dollar per 100 pages be too much? You may depend upon the paper being good, the type beautiful and clear, and upon a faithful execution of the work. Nor will superior or better arranged music be anywhere found. It will be superintended by a first rate musician.

How is your health? Write me soon and let me know what I am to expect. With sincere regard,

Yours in Xt.,

† BENEDICT, Bp. Bn.

P. S. The first part of the work will be ready for delivery by the middle of February, and the second part in two months after.

Another. You are aware that the first book I published some years ago was destroyed by fire with all the copies.

Boston, January 22, 1840.

Rt. Rev. Dr. Sir:

Your kind letter has just come to hand. I am sorry my book will, in no manner, suit the latitude of St. Louis, although I have endeavored to gregorianize it, as much as possible, according to those books, at least, which were in my possession. To alter it now, is impossible, as it is more than half done, and the entire has been contracted for.

I did not know, before the receipt of your letter, how the choirs of St. Louis were constituted. Nor did I know that you had introduced the Roman chant in all its purity. If you have succeeded in this, you are undoubtedly the only Bishop in the United States that could succeed in it. Your population were in great measure French and prepared for it by having been all their life accustomed to the Gregorian music. Your clergy, too, have probably for the greater part, a knowledge of it, and were able to form choirs in the different churches. But to attempt to introduce it all over the United States, in which the greater part of the congregations consist of Americans or Irish, who know as much about music of any kind, as they do about Greek, and the greater part of the clergy, too, have neither voices nor ears for music, would be to attempt an impossibility. Without going into the country parts of each diocese, let me instance the three principal cities and Cathedral churches of these United States, viz: Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York. In none of these have the Bishops at any period been able to introduce the Gregorian chant, however much they desired it. And the reason is, they not the clergy requisite to carry the measure through. How were the people disposed to favour such a change on a sudden? Abp. Maréchal had all his life time been accustomed to the Gregorian chant—he had, besides, the entire French Seminary to back him in the enterprise, had he undertaken the task of introducing it into his Cathedral. But he saw the impossibility with such a population as Baltimore consisted of, of succeeding, and abandoned it. Now, if such be the state of things in these principal churches, what cannot be said of the country and the village churches? What chance would there be of introducing it there? But let me confine myself to the state of things in my own diocese, and you will be the better judge. I have thirty churches and twenty-eight priests. Of these thirty churches only one half have voices, or can tell one tone from another. The consequence, hitherto, has been, that low Masses only could be said in the far greater part of the churches on Sunday, without a single hymn or even canticle being sung to enliven the divine service, while the Protestants, in their churches, all around had their choirs and their sacred hymns sung in pretty good style.

Now, how could I remain an indifferent spectator of this state of things without making an effort to apply, at least, some remedy? To introduce the Gregorian music entirely and on a sudden among them I knew to be impossible. There was nobody to teach it—not even the priests knew it. I knew, moreover, that I could not procure books, and if I should procure them, they would be unintelligible to the American musician, who only know the 5 line music. What then was to be done? I saw, with the population I have to deal with, that nothing could be done with any probability of success, but what I am now doing, I shall soon have a book which will be perfectly intelligible to all musicians and from which the poor and uninformed can learn. The Masses in it are plain and beautiful and easily learned. The Vespers are equally so. The book will contain the whole service for the year with all the hymns for the Sundays and

principal Feasts, with a great variety of other hymns, Mottets, canticles and anthems, which can be sung by the children at Catechism classes, as well as at Divine Service. In fine, the music in it will be found partly Gregorian and partly of the other kind, but all selected and arranged by the best masters. It is likewise solemn and well adapted to Church music. I am sorry you cannot encourage it for any part of your diocese. I am persuaded it will do good, and an immense good somewhere, both in and out of my diocese. At all events, it will be better to have it than to be without any Church music at all, which is the case in the three hundred out of the 454 churches in the United States.

With best wishes I remain,

Your Br. in Xt.,

† BENEDICT, Bp. Bn.

This exposition of Bishop Fenwick's ideas of Church music is endorsed in Bishop Rosati's handwriting, 1840, January 22nd. Bishop Fenwick, Boston, "resp. non indiget."

The great Bishop of St. Louis was then busily engaged in the preparation for the journey to Baltimore and his visit to Rome. After consecrating his coadjutor, Peter Richard Kenrick, in Baltimore, he started once more for Rome. He was never again to see his episcopal city as he died in Rome on September 25, 1843. Bishop Fenwick was to outlive him by three years, expiring the 11th of August, 1846. His last words were, "In Te, Domine, speravi; non confundas in aeternum."

REV. JOHN ROTHENSTEINER.

St. Louis, Mo.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

The First Ten Years.—The ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW is approaching its tenth birthday. It was established at the almost most critical period of the World War. In spite of the war, the State of Illinois was celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the admission of the State into the Union, and it was felt that it was imperative to be represented in the literature of the centennial period. It may sound unkind to state that the Catholic part in the history of the State and region did not seem to be valued at its fair worth, and after many efforts to modify existing conditions it was decided by those interested in the matter that if we desired proper representation we must ourselves provide means of securing it.

Rev. Frederick Siedenbureg, S. J., was a member of the centennial celebration commission, appointed by the Governor and was accordingly well informed of the situation. Mainly through his efforts the Catholic historical movement was launched, and after due consideration and authorization the Illinois Catholic Historical Society was legally organized early in 1918, the initial meeting being held on February 28th of that year.

The very first activity provided for by action of the society was the publication of a quarterly magazine to be known as the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW. It was proposed to publish the first number in May, but the task was found too great and the date of the first quarterly number issued was July 1, 1918.

Cardinal Mundelein, Bishop Hoban and many distinguished churchmen endorsed enthusiastically the movement and lent moral and financial support. None, however, underestimated the difficulty connected with the establishment of a necessarily expensive magazine, and all were prepared, mentally at least, for a time of trial. It was well known that ventures of this kind had met with serious difficulties and that few, if any, ever survived a period of ten years. Splendid historical publications had been published, but so far as we have been able to learn not one had been able to weather the storm for a period as long as has the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW.

It is most gratifying that, nearing our tenth anniversary as we are, the magazine is in a very flourishing condition. The clergy, the religious and the lay-people who have become acquainted with the magazine are loud in its praise. Not a single number, during all of the more than nine years it has been published, but has been praised orally and by many written communications from all parts of the State and country.

It is gratifying to be able to state that the magazine goes to practically every public library in the United States. It is called an ornament in the libraries of the Catholic universities, colleges and schools. It is read in council by the religious orders, and in many institutions of learning is practically made a textbook. Indeed, without boasting, we are free to say that many expressions have reached us to the effect that it is the best historical magazine ever published in the United States.

All this, of course, makes us happy, but there is in our song of appreciation one sad note. We haven't enough readers. This is not a plea for financial support. We really could now publish and distribute the magazine free

in certain quantities due to our splendid advertising patronage. The best and biggest business men in the country use advertising space in our magazine, but it would be a bad policy from many standpoints, the mention of which is not necessary, to attempt free publication. We have, however, reduced the subscription price materially and subscribers and friends of the movement have been advised of this reduction in recognition of the near approach of our tenth anniversary.

Why can't we secure more readers?

We know how completely occupied nearly every one is who could be asked to do something to enlarge the subscription list of the REVIEW. Practically every one in that class has labors and troubles enough of his own, but it is the busy people that do things.

Once more we ask, in the first place, the pastors to help us secure more readers. If each pastor would speak to some one in his congregation and ask that two, or three, or five subscriptions be sent in from the parish, it would add tellingly to the number of readers. So with the present subscribers. If each would make a slight effort, two, or three, or a half dozen new subscribers might easily be obtained.

We ask that kind of help. We want to increase the number of our readers to at least ten thousand for our tenth anniversary. Help us.

GLEANINGS FROM CURRENT PERIODICALS

The leading article in the *Michigan History Magazine* for July, 1927, Vol. XI, No. 3, is "An Historic Michigan Road," by Carl E. Pray. This road is the Chicago Road, the paved highway from Detroit to Chicago, and we are told that its inception was due to Father Gabriel Richard of Detroit, to whom "is due the introduction of a bill in Congress authorizing a survey of a road from Detroit to Chicago and the appropriation of money to begin the work. Father Richard was Territorial delegate from Michigan Territory, a man of great activity and power of leadership and greatly devoted to the interests of the Territory. His bill came to a hearing before the House of Representatives, January 28, 1825. The Debates of Congress report only a summary of his speech on that occasion but show that he knew thoroughly well what he was taking about. He urges the importance of the road both from a military point of view and as to its necessity in the matter of settlement. He says that the Grand Canal (meaning the Erie Canal) will be finished the next July and that then 'We consider Detroit in contact with New York.' He says that there is already a ship with a movable keel on the lakes ready to go all the way to New York. He reminds Congress that during the War of 1812 the government had suffered a loss of ten or twelve million dollars because there had been no road across the Black Swamp (Northeastern Ohio, across which the government had tried to transport supplies to the armies only to have them sunk in the mud) and that the same sort of thing might happen again if it were necessary to get supplies to Chicago, Green Bay in Wisconsin and Prairie Du Chien. He argues that the road will cost the government less than nothing because of the greatly increased value of the land caused by the fact of there being a road through it. He says families are already coming to Detroit who wish to get into the interior but cannot because there is no road. He states that there are now ten surveyors in the region, the land will soon be thrown open for settlement but will not sell without a road. He asked for the modest sum of fifteen hundred dollars but Congress gave him three thousand instead, to make the survey."

The Missouri Historical Review for July, 1927, Vol. XXI, No. 4, contains an interesting article by Father John E. Rothensteiner, who is well known to all our readers. Father Rothensteiner's article, en-

titled, "The Missouri Priest One Hundred Year Ago," tells briefly the story of Bishop William Louis Du Bourg, the first bishop of St. Louis. Bishop Du Bourg, in a letter written January 18, 1818, gave this picture of early St. Louis: "Here I am in St. Louis, and it is no dream. The dream would be most delightful, but the reality is even more so. I visited several parishes, en route. Everywhere the people came in crowds to meet us, showing me the most sincere affection and respect. My house is not magnificent, but it will be comfortable when they have made some necessary repairs. I will have a parlor, a sleeping room, a very nice study, besides a dining room, and four rooms for the ecclesiastics, and an immense garden. My cathedral, which looks like a poor stable, is falling in ruins, so that a new church is an absolute necessity. It will be one hundred and fifty feet long by seventy wide, but its construction will take time, especially in a country where everything is just beginning. The country, the most beautiful in the world, is healthy and fertile, and emigrants pour in. But everything is very dear."

The National Catholic Welfare Conference Bulletin for August, 1927, contains a report by Rev. George M. Nell, of the work of the "Parish Activities Service," of Effingham, Ill., which was organized seven years ago.

This movement in its few short years of existence has accomplished great things in the development of social and recreational parish activities and the parish life of many churches has been revolutionized by its aid.

Father Nell lists the following features which are already a part of the Parish Activities Service:

1. It has gathered ideas and plans successfully used by parishes, and has issued this material in two series of Parish Activities Information Booklets, covering thirty-eight distinct parish activities.

2. Has issued a Parish Activities Study Club Program, supplied with the proper study material.

3. Has organized a free Co-op Loan Service for members covering:

- (a) Parish Amateur Dramatics.
- (b) Slides illustrating the catechism and bible history.
- (c) Cartoons illustrating parish publicity material such as parish bulletins, dodgers, newspaper advertising, letters, post cards, etc.

4. Has developed a Co-op. Buying Service for members, covering movie, slide and opaque projectors, plays from the leading pub-

lishers, printer's cuts, glass and film strip slides, rebuilt office equipment, etc.

5. Has arranged a Co-op. Film Rental Service.

6. Maintains a Personal Letter Information Service answering questions on parish activities.

7. Offers a Co-op. Printing Service, supplying printed material which can be used in identical form by many parishes, giving a quantity price on even a few copies.

8. Publishes a looseleaf bulletin for members, giving suggestions for special parish activities such as bazars, ground-breaking celebrations, corner stone laying, dedication ceremonies, jubilee celebrations, farewells to pastor or assistant, welcomes to pastor or assistant, socials, picnics, sings, minstrels, plays and operettas, debates and mock trials and any other programs you may have.

The fee for this service is \$10 per year, entitling the parish to use all the services offered. Recently a member saved over \$100 on one Co-op. purchase. At present a number of members are saving from \$75 to \$150 on Co-op. Film Bookings alone, while the users of the 1,129 religious slides, of the cartoons, and of the Dramatic Service are finding these enot only a big convenience, but also a worthwhile financial saving.

The Abbey Chronicle of St. Benedict, Louisiana, in the following sketch, breathes the romance in the history of one of our southern dioceses:

“More than one hundred and seventy years have elapsed since that tragic day on which the Acadians were rudely torn from their rugged but happy homes in Nova Scotia. On the 10th of September, 1755, they were thrown on government vessels and left in the hands of fate. But fate is God's Providence. From the cold lakes of the north they drifted into the genial warm streams of southern Louisiana. Entering the picturesque Teche and Vermillion bayous they founded their homes on the wooded banks of those beautiful streams.

The story of their wanderings is a sad story but it has its consoling side. It is the story of religious faith, of a faith more rugged than were the rugged surroundings of their northern homes. God blessed the Acadians. There was peace and plenty in all the country of Evangeline.

To the present day they have kept the faith of their fathers, and in 1918 the descendants of that heroic people rejoiced in seeing the Acadian settlements on the shores of the Vermillion, Teche, and Atchafalaya united into one Acadian diocese, the diocese of Lafayette. The faith, love and peace which characterized the Acadians of old still prevail in the present generation. More than this, God has been pleased to reward the fidelity of the Acadians by giving them a

bishop who was chosen from their midst and who himself is a descendant of the saintly people who preferred to give life and all rather than renounce their faith.

The Right Reverend Jules Benjamin Jeanmard is the first Acadian Bishop of the first Acadian diocese in the history of the Church. Thanks to his zeal, some sixty-seven priests and thirty religious are laboring in the Acadian portion of the vineyard of Christ, while nine seminarians are studying philosophy and theology in this country and Europe, and the writer of these lines is one of the eighteen diocesan boys at St. Joseph's Seminary, St. Benedict, La.

So the faith of Evangeline and her people will still wax strong in the land of Acadia. Sooner will the Teche lose its waters than that the diocese of Acadia will lose the faith of its fathers.

AVEGNO SOULIER, III Latin."

The history of Ireland and of the Irish in America is an important feature of *The Spokesman*, a new publication which calls itself "The only independent Irish newspaper in America." The issue of August 4th, for instance, has articles on the reception at Dublin of the American Minister to Ireland; on the American Irish Historical Society; on Nathaniel Fanning, Naval Hero of the American Revolution, and a number of interesting matters of an historical nature.

Columbia, for August, 1927, publishes a sketch by Joseph Gurn, of one of our early Catholic patriots. His article, entitled, "A Priest in Congress," tells the story of the courageous Father Gabriel Richard, who was a member of Congress, associate of Webster and Clay, a pioneer of education in the middle west, leading spirit in the development of the University of Michigan, and a pastor fervent in the spiritual care of his flock. The author tells us that the building of his church of St. Anne put him in debt and he was thrown into prison by his creditors. "A brilliant idea now came to his friends, viz., to offer him as a candidate at the forthcoming Congressional election, since, if successful, his release would be mandatory under the terms of the United States Constitution. The Abbe agreed, and when the result of the contest was announced his name headed the poll. There were six candidates, at least two of whom, Biddle and Wing, were men of prominence.

We are told that the Abbe's appearance in the House created a sensation. He soon gained the confidence and admiration of his fellow legislators. Though a man of culture and a good linguist, his oratorical command of the American language was not the best, but the great-souled Henry Clay was then Speaker of the House of Representatives, and he aided the Abbe by translating into classic English the bad English of his colleague."

F. J. R.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Bridge to France—By Edward N. Hurley. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia-London.

The author (a prominent Catholic of Illinois) has shown good judgment in waiting with his summary of the creation and operation of the United States Shipping Board and Emergency Fleet Corporation until some of the "tumult and clamor" died so that a more dispassionate and calmer discussion might result. Mr. Hurley before, and during the war was in an ideal position to tell the story of the origin of the means for the transportation of men and material to the front,—The Bridge to France. He was (as he points out in the first chapter) closely connected with the advancement of Woodrow Wilson from the chair of President of Princeton University, through the governorship of New Jersey to the President of the United States. Whatever one may think of Woodrow Wilson, his ideals, aims and purposes one is tempted to join in the honest admiration of Mr. Hurley for his wartime chief. He brings out many interesting phases of the character of Mr. Wilson, and relates a number of entertaining anecdotes.

The discussion of the early disturbances in the Board due to its unfortunate organization is full and fair. In these chapters, as in the whole book, Mr. Hurley speaks with an honest forwardness, expressing his feelings and his opinions of men and affairs.

It is wholesome as well as somewhat startling to reflect that in doing their share to help win the war, as great a part was accomplished by the dockyard workers and the officers of the United States Shipping Board and of the Emergency Fleet Corporation as by the soldiers at the front and the general staff. For without the home organization there would have been no soldier at the front or if he were there, he would be from lack of supplies, merely an additional burden on an already overtasked ally. The mistakes and errors made by a body of men experimental in its origin, and necessarily experimental in operation while working in dire haste, are frequently blotted out and undoubtedly they are as costly in life and treasure as the errors made by the military arm in the training of the troops and the securing of martial supplies.

The discussions of the relations of the author with Edison, Ford, Firestone and others are enlivening and in a few words Mr. Hurley produces a well limned character study of the men portrayed. It is interesting to note Mr. Hurley's reaction toward Marshal Foch at

the meeting in Treves, when the Allied and German delegates met to work out a method of taking over the German ships and of furnishing relief to the German people, through shipments of food, etc.

There are a number of fac-simile letters and telegrams incorporated in the work which may make it valuable as a source-book.

The lesson one may gather from this volume is that if war is to continue as it probably will, to be the final arbitrament of the nations it will avail but little to have a well drilled citizen army unless we have given some care to the question of the transportation of the army and supplies and the steady flow of those supplies to the front. To accomplish this will mean a closer peacetime relationship between the War Department and the business executives of the day, and it might be well if a civilian council of leaders in war industries were selected as a permanent committee to advise with the War Department upon the question of transportation of supplies in time of war. In doing so we would be prepared, not only from a military standpoint but also from a commercial, for the evil which may at any time come upon us.

The United States—A History for the Upper Grades of Catholic Schools, by William J. Kennedy and Sister Mary Joseph. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago.

The editors in their foreword lead one to believe that it was their intention to write a story history. In this they have succeeded admirably. The style is so attractive that it might offer some competition to a real story book in the favor of the younger generation. The book is profusely illustrated and that this is valuable both to the student and the teacher goes without saying. It enables the teacher to clothe the dead bones of the characters and to have them again enact their parts realistically.

As an introduction there is a preliminary survey of world history which will enable the teacher to point out the interrelation of history generally. The relation between the colonies and Great Britain preceding the Revolution, the treatment of which in some histories, now seems to be causing a great deal of comment, is adequately dealt with from an American standpoint.

It seems that a little more space could have been given to the rise and decline of the Know Nothing party and a keener analysis of the eruption and disappearance of the bigotry waves might easily have been made. Generally, however, this history fits very well into the niche for which it was intended.

JOHN V. McCORMICK.

Chicago, Illinois.

CHRONICLE

ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST PARISH, JOHNSBURG, ILL.

A recent Jubilee held at Johnsbury, McHenry County, Illinois, in celebration of the 85th anniversary of the parish and the silver jubilee of the building of the church gives evidence of the importance of the smaller parishes of our State.

Johnsbury, one of the oldest Catholic communities in Illinois, was founded by German settlers. There is a tradition that as early as 1838, Bishop Brute of Vincennes, Indiana, was in the neighborhood and baptized four children. The Germans, however, did not come until about three years later.

The first Johnsbury church was built of logs, twenty by twenty-eight feet, in 1843 or 1844—the recollection of the old members not agreeing exactly as to the time. The first frame church was built in 1850 to the testimony of old settlers and the diary of Bishop Van de Velde: “May 1, 1850—Visited new church (not finished, frame) of St. John the Baptist, in Miller settlement, three or four miles from McHenry town, (75 x 33 feet), well designed; made arrangements to have a frame church 50 x 35 feet, built at McHenry. A lot free, for the purpose was given by Mr. Brown, a Protestant.”

“November 9, 1851—Blessed church of St. John the Baptist of the German congregation, near the village of McHenry; after last Mass exhortation in English; confirmed 63 persons.”

On June 3, 1852, the Bishop confirmed thirty-three persons in this church. The building of a second church was undertaken in 1868, during the pastorate of the Reverend Clement Venn and the church was finished by the late Reverend Henry Mehring, who was pastor for twenty-four years. In February, 1900, the same church was destroyed by fire and during Father Mehring's time the present beautiful church of Johnsbury was erected. The building was begun in 1900, and was completed the following year. It is only necessary for one to take a glimpse at the interior of St. John's to realize that a real artist has spent several months and has expended a vast amount of artistic skill on the walls, pillars, statues and paintings in the building.

Up to 1852 the Johnsbury congregation was ministered to by visiting priests. The first priest visited the settlement in the Fall of 1841, by accident. He was the Reverend Father Fisher, sent from Vincennes to minister to the needs of Catholics in Northern Illinois and Wisconsin. Returning from the latter State, he had lost his

way and was brought by Indians to Miller's settlement, where he offered Mass the next morning in one of the settler's homes.

The first baptism was recorded in September, 1841. The first marriage was solemnized May 8, 1843. The first school house was built in 1850. For years this school was conducted by lay teachers, but later was placed under the care of the School Sisters of St. Francis of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Almost all the people of the parish have received their education within its venerable walls. The number of children enrolled today is one hundred and thirty-six.

At the present time there are one hundred and forty families who belong to the parish from which six vocations to the priesthood and eighteen to the sisterhood have been obtained.

In the community there are four societies and four sodalities, namely, St. John's Catholic Order of Foresters, St. Agatha's Women's Catholic Order of Foresters, Holy Name Society, Young Men's Sodality, Young Ladies' Sodality, Christian Mothers' Sodality, Holy Childhood Sodality, and Sacred Heart, Poor Souls and Rosary Confraternity.

Reverend William Weber is now pastor of the parish and is to be commended upon the progress which this small community has shown under his excellent guidance since 1915. Besides the work which has been accomplished by re-finishing St. John's Church, Father Weber has also labored most zealously since his arrival in erecting a grotto in memory of the Reverend Henry Mehring, who was pastor at Johnsburg for nearly twenty-five years and dearly beloved by his people. This beautiful grotto, an exact reproduction of the original and historical grotto at Lourdes, in France, today may be seen in the cemetery of Johnsburg, a worthy and fitting memorial.

Of particular interest to students of history is the fact that an important feature of the jubilee celebration was an original pageant depicting the history of the parish during its eighty-five years. The pageant and the memorial historical booklet serve to record and vivify for the present parishioners of St. John the Baptist, the history of their community.

JEANNETTE M. SMITH

Chicago, Ill.

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